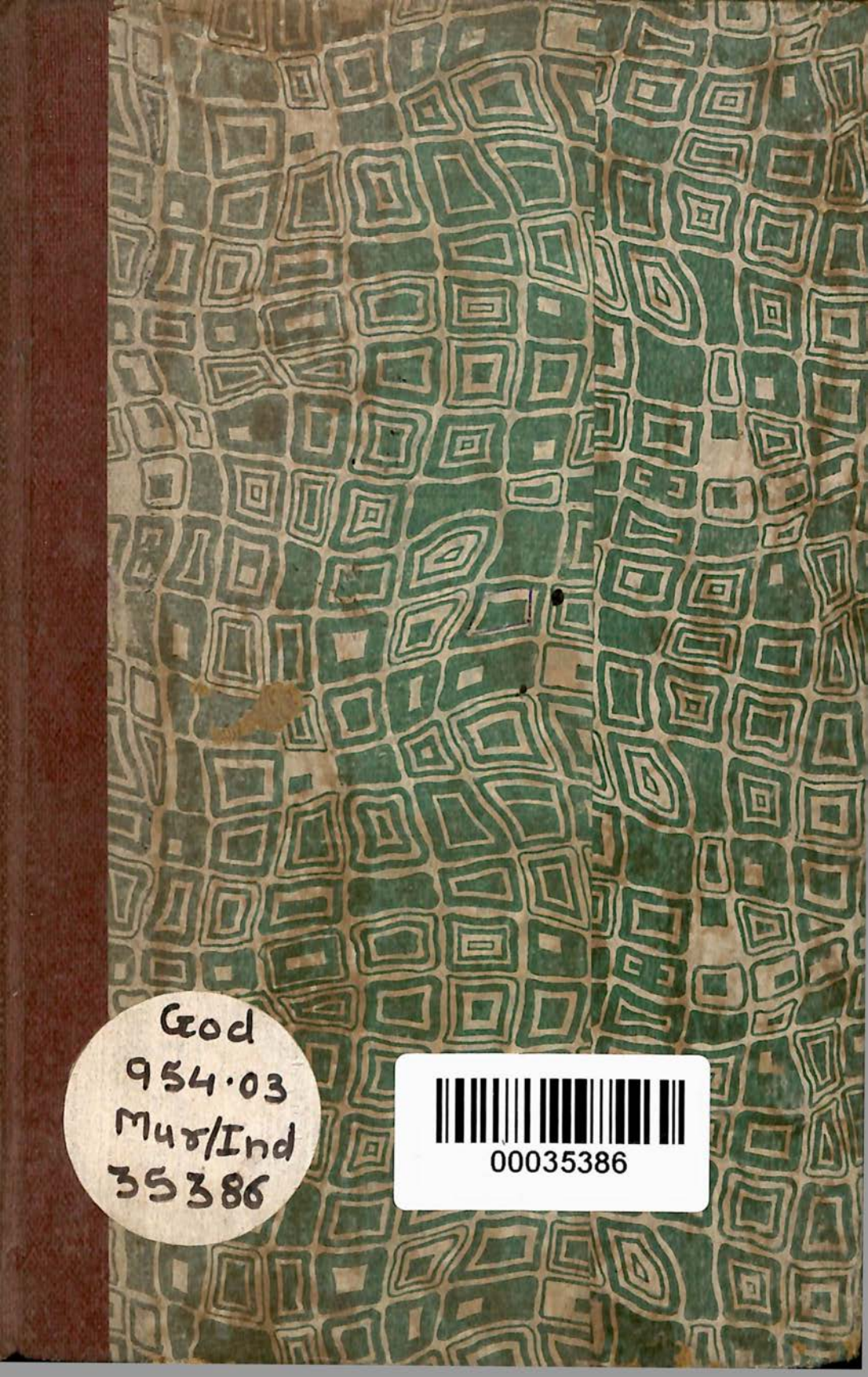
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INDIA:

PAST AND PRESENT.

INCLUDING,

IS INDIA BECOMING RICHER OR POORER?

THE REFORMS STILL NECESSARY;

AND AN APPEAL TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR ITS CO-OPERATION.

BY

JOHN MURDOCH, LL.D.

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"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

Sir W. W. Hunter.

FIRST EDITION, 2,000 COPIES.

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INDIA: PAST AND PRESENT.

INTRODUCTION.

FALSE IDEAS OF THE PAST.

"The past," Tennyson says,

"Shall always wear
A glory from its being far."

The ignorant and half-educated in all ages and in all countries have looked upon the past as the Golden, and the present as the Iron, Age. Ten centuries before the Christian era, Solomon gave the caution, "Say not the former days were better than these; for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." The poet Horace lived in the Augustan age of Rome, yet there were then "praisers of bygone times." Indians now entertain exactly the same feelings with regard to the declension of their country as Englishmen who talk of the "good old times." Macaulay, in his *History of England*, thus combats the

"Delusion which leads men to overrate the happiness of preceding generations."

"In truth we are under a deception similar to that which misleads the traveller in the Arabian desert. Beneath the caravan all is dry and bare; but far in advance and far in the rear, is the semblance of refreshing waters. The pilgrims hasten forward and find nothing but sand where, an hour before, they had seen a lake. They turn their eyes and see a lake where, an hour before, they were toiling through sand. A similar illusion seems to haunt nations through every stage of the long progress from poverty and barbarism to the highest degrees of opulence and civilisation. But, if we resolutely chase the mirage backward, we shall find it recede before us into the regions of fabulous antiquity. It is now the fashion to place the golden age of England in times when noblemen were destitute of comforts the want of which would be intolerable to a modern footman . . . when men died faster in the purest country air than they now die in the most pestilential lanes of our towns, and when men died faster in the lanes of our towns than they now die on the coast of Guiana."

"Since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but decay." The evils now complained of are, he says, "with scarcely an exception old. That which is new, is the intelligence which discerns, and the humanity which remedies them."

The words of Burke, applied to England last century, largely represent the state of Indian feeling in this country at present:—

"These birds of evil presage at all times have grated our ears with their melancholy song; and by some strange fatality or other, it has generally happened that they have poured forth their loudest and deepest lamentations at the periods of our most abundant prosperity."*

The Yugas of the Hindu Sacred Books.

The foregoing false ideas of the past have been entertained even in England. Hindu ideas are partly influenced by the descriptions of the four Yugas given in their own Sacred Books. "India: Past and Present" is thus described:

The **Krita** was the age in which righteousness was eternal when duties did not languish nor people decline. No efforts were made by men, the fruit of the earth was obtained by their mere wish. There was no malice, weeping, pride, or deceit; no contention, no hatred, cruelty, fear, affliction, jealousy, or envy. The castes alike in their functions, fulfilled their duties, were unceasingly devoted to one deity, and used one formula, one rule, and one rite. Though they had separate duties, they had but one Veda, and practised one duty.

The duration of life was 4,000 years.

In the **Tretá Yuga** sacrifices commenced, righteousness decreased by one-fourth, men adhered to truth and were devoted to a righteousness dependent on ceremonies. Sacrifices prevailed with holy acts and a variety of rites. Men acted with an object in view, seeking after reward for their rites and gifts, and were no longer disposed to austerities and to liberality from a simple feeling of duty.

The duration of life was 3,000 years.

In the **Dwápara Yuga** righteousness was diminished one-half. The Veda became fourfold. Some men studied four Vedas, others three, others two, others one, and some none at all. Ceremonies were celebrated in a great variety of ways. From the decline of goodness few men adhered to truth. When men had fallen away from goodness, many diseases, desires, and calamities, caused by destiny, assailed them by which they were severely afflicted and driven to practise austerities. Others desiring heavenly bliss offered sacrifices. Thus men declined through unrighteousness.

The duration of life was 2,000 years.†

---

* Quoted in Strachey's *Financial Public Works of India*, p. 12.

† Dowson's *Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, pp. 382, 383.

The Kali Yuga is thus described in the Vishnu Purána:

The observance of caste, order, and institutes, will not prevail in the Kali age. Acts of penance will be unattended by any results. All orders of life will be common alike to all persons. Gold, jewels, and clothes, will all have perished, and their hair will be the only ornament with which women can decorate themselves. Cows will be held in esteem only as they supply milk. The people will be almost always in dread of dearth; they will all live like hermits upon leaves and roots and fruits, and put a period to their lives through fear of want. Women will be short of stature, gluttonous; they will be scolds and liars. Women will bear children at the age of 5, 6, or 7 years; and men beget them when they are 8, 9, 10. A man will be grey when he is 12; and no one will exceed 20 years of life.

According to the popular idea, the Past was the Golden Age of India. A "Territorial Maharaja," writing to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, refers to "the halcyon (peaceful) days of Hindu sovereignty." The country was rolling in wealth. In a recent Bombay lecture Mrs. Besant said to her hearers:

"In the days of old you were a great commercial people; you were good shipbuilders, sending your ships over the whole world and carrying on great commerce (*cheers*). You may read history and you will find that only between 300 and 400 years ago ships built in India sailed up to the Thames and to London, and were regarded with envy and admiration because of their admirable workmanship (*hear, hear*)."*

On the other hand, the present, under the British Government, is the Kali Yuga, when things are becoming worse and worse. "This is the Kali Yuga," is considered a sufficient explanation for every evil.

Indian Ideas of Past Times drawn from Poetry and Imagination.

The late Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit says:—

"The very word history has no corresponding Indian expression. In the vernaculars derived from the Sanskrit we use the word *itihas*—a curious compound of three words, *iti*, *ha*, *ása*, which almost correspond in meaning to our old nursery phrase, 'There was once upon a time.' In Sanskrit authors, the name means simply a legend . . . From the very earliest ages down to our own day, the Hindu mind seems never to have conceived such an idea as an authentic record of past facts based on evidence. It has remained from generation to generation stationary, in that condition which Mr. Grote has described so vividly in the first two volumes of his *History of Greece*. The idlest legend has passed current as readily as the most authentic fact, nay,

* Quoted in *Indian Progress*, 1st April, 1903.

more readily, because it is more likely to charm the imagination: and, in this phase of mind, imagination and feeling supply the only proof which is needed to win the belief of the audience."

The late Oxford Professor of Sanskrit bears similar testimony. Referring to Indian epic poetry, he says:—

"Brahmanism, claiming a monopoly of all knowledge, human and divine, has appropriated this, as it has every other department of literature, and warped it to its own purposes. Its policy being to check the development of intellect, and keep the inferior castes in perpetual childhood, it encouraged an appetite for exaggeration more monstrous and absurd than would be tolerated in the most extravagant European fairy tale. The more improbable the statement, the more childish delight it was calculated to awaken."

Válmíki makes the city Ayodhya 96 miles long and 80 broad, "adorned with mountain-like palaces; glittering with gems, and filled with sporting places for females, and like unto Indra's Amarávatí." Compared with such a city, London dwindles into insignificance.

Krishna is said to have come from Dwáraká to Abhímanyu's marriage attended by a hundred millions of horse and a hundred billions of foot-soldiers. Dwáraká was a town in the Kathiawar Peninsula, which is not very large, yet it is said to have sent far more men to the marriage than the whole population of the globe. *Mahábhárata, Virata Parva.*

"STRICTER CRITERIA OF TRUTH" THE GREAT WANT OF INDIA.

Sir H. S. Maine, one of the ablest men that ever came to India, says:

"*Where the Indian intellect had been trained at all before the establishment of the British-Indian Empire, it stood in need, before everything else, of* **stricter criteria of truth.**"

He describes the Indian intellect as "elaborately inaccurate; it is supremely and deliberately careless of all precision in magnitude, number, and time."

"Time," says Monier-Williams, "is measured by millions of years; space by millions of miles; and if a battle has to be described, nothing is thought of it unless millions of soldiers, elephants, and horses are brought into the field."

False patriotism is another disturbing element, interfering with a correct view of things.

The four Yugas of the Hindu Sacred Books are the opposite of the truth. The flint arrow heads, found all over the world,

show that the primitive state of man everywhere was barbarian, and that the advance to civilization has been very gradual.

At Ahmedabad Dr. Bhandharkar said:

"In conclusion, allow me to remind you that the great discovery of the nineteenth century—the law of evolution—is receiving confirmation from every side. The law implies that there has been throughout the universe a progress in the material as well as the spiritual world from the simple to the complex, from the dead to the living, from good to better, from the irrational to the rational. This is the law of God, and if, instead of obstinately clinging to what is bad and irrational we move forwards to what is good and rational we shall be obeying the law of the universe and co-operating with God. If, however, we continue to go down from what is bad to what is worse, from good to bad and from the rational to the irrational as we have been doing for so many centuries, we shall have to seek another universe to live in."

The President of the Ahmedabad Congress thus pointed out the difficulty of forming an unbiased judgment. After referring to the Education Question, he said:

"The economic problem is a more contentious one, and affords ground for wider differences of opinion, coloured, I am afraid, by official and party bias. Here we enter upon an altogether more difficult sphere, where the atmosphere is surcharged with the heat of partisan controversy, and where the combatants have already taken up definite sides, to which they are attached by interests and passions which must seriously interfere with the impartial consideration of the problem."

India has now trained lawyers, men accustomed to weigh evidence. There is also a minority sincerely desirous of knowing the truth. The attention of such is invited to the following statements.

The saying of Sir Madhava Row should be pondered by educated Hindus:

"What is not TRUE is not PATRIOTIC."

It is best that the people of India should understand the exact situation. Without this, it is impossible to determine correctly what should be done. There is the encouragement that truth conquers in the end, *Satyam jayati.*

VIEW OF THE SITUATION NOT OPTIMISTIC.

On the contrary, the writer agrees with the following opinions expressed by men of ability and experience:

Sir William Hunter says:

"In thinking of her work in India, Great Britain may proudly look back, but she must also look anxiously forward."

Mr. Crooke says:

"Anxious statesmen peer into the mists which shroud the future, and wonder what the end of all this may be."

Sir H. S. Mayne says:

"India seems likely to experience, more than any society of men, that peculiar trial which follows good government. . . . In no country, will there be probably a severer pressure of population on food.

"The removal of the ancient checks on over-population will force on the attention of the rulers of India a number of grave problems which have been very imperfectly faced of late years by the economists and statesmen of the West."

As Earl Percy said, "The problems of India will continue to tax the highest resources of statesmanship."

To meet the case, the most earnest efforts are required on the part both of Government and people.

THREE PROPHETS OF THE KALI YUGA.

Messrs. Strachey say that some Englishmen

"Endeavour honestly and persistently to show that, in consequence of the wickedness or stupidity of our Government, India is in a state bordering on bankruptcy, that its people are becoming poorer and poorer, more and more miserable, more and more exposed to ruin and death by famine; that crushing taxation goes on constantly increasing; that an enormous and ruinous tribute is exacted from India to be spent in England."

These views were expressed in *The Spoliation of India* and *India bleeding to Death*. The pamphlets are forgotten, but the spirit of them largely survives. Some of the opinions of men who are generally recognised by Indians as trustworthy guides will be examined.

MR. R. C. DUTT.

The great merits of Mr. R. C. Dutt, in several respects, are cheerfully acknowledged. In the department of Literature he sets a noble example to his countrymen. It is also admitted that he has the welfare of his country sincerely in view. From the miserably defective educational system of India, he and his countrymen generally have crude ideas of political economy, and accept as true theories long ago exploded. A few of Mr. Dutt's opinions will be examined.

Mr. Dutt's assertion that the recent famines in India were the severest ever known in the history of the world, will be noticed under another head.

1. **Mr. Dutt on the Permanent Settlement.**—Mr. Pennington, in an open letter to Mr. Dutt, quotes him as making the following assertion :

"That the Permanent Settlement has saved Bengal from the worst results is proved by history as completely and unanswerably as any economic fact can be proved."

On the contrary, every sensible man knows that *its abundant supply of rain* is the real cause why Bengal does not suffer from famines—not the Permanent Settlement. As Mr. Pennington points out, there are districts on the West Coast of India, with a somewhat similar climate, which do not suffer from famines although they have not been permanently settled.

Not a few educated Indians think that a Permanent Land Settlement would be the panacea for the poverty of India. Such are invited to consider the following remarks :

Sismondi, a distinguished European political economist, described the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis as

"One of the most unfortunate, but best intentioned, schemes that ever ruined a country."

Mr. A. O. Hume, a competent and unexceptionable authority, characterises it as a "STUPENDOUS ERROR."

The ryots in Bengal pay several crores a year to Zemindars which in other provinces would have gone to Government. Sir H. S. Cunningham thus points out the injustice of this :—

"The richest province of India has been, to a large extent, defended, administered, educated, supplied with roads, barracks, hospitals, railways and canals, and relieved in famine, at the expense of the rest of the community. Ryots have been toiling in Madras and starving in the Deccan, in order that gentlemen, like the Rajahs of Darbhangah and Burdwan may enjoy incomes of several hundred thousand pounds a year free from the rude contact of the tax collector's hand."*

The following are briefly some of the objections to a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue :

1. It would be unjust.—A righteous Government should deal equitably with all its subjects. Ryots form about four-fifths of the population of India. Is Government to say to them, Your taxation shall never be increased while it will become heavier and heavier in the case of the remaining fifth? Government requires more and more money. If the land is not to supply any part of the increase, the income tax and salt tax must be raised to provide it.

With improved cultivation land will yield thrice as much as at present. Hence in course of time, under the Permanent

* *British India and its Rules*, pp. 168, 169.

Settlement the incidence of taxation would be only one-third of its present amount. Thus the taxation of the ryot would be constantly diminishing, while that of the non-ryot would be constantly increasing? Would this be justice?

2. **Under the Permanent Settlement India would largely remain in its present degraded condition, its people sunk in ignorance:**—If the people are to be educated and have a thoroughly civilised Government, the revenue must be largely increased.

Indian taxation is less than Rs. 3 per head, against upwards of Rs. 36 in England. If India is to have a Government somewhat like England, the revenue must be largely increased. This could be done, with ease if the land bore its fair share, while it could be impossible under the Permanent Settlement. The only increase could be obtained by a crushing income tax and a doubled or trebled salt tax.

3. **The History of Prices forbids a Permanent Land Settlement.**—Six centuries ago a labourer in England received, according to weight in silver, only 28 shillings a year. Four centuries ago, he received 35*s.*; three centuries ago, £4-4-0; two centuries ago £12-12-0; in 1800, £30. With such changes in prices, no prudent government would make a Permanent Land Settlement. The rapid fall in the value of silver led the Secretary of State in March 28th, 1883 to decide against the Permanent Land Settlement in India. As Baden-Powell says in his *Land Systems of India*, the question among Indian authorities is now regarded as "dead and buried," although it survives among Indian political economists.

2. **Mr. Dutt on Loans and the Public Debt.**—In his *England and India*, he has the following remarks:—

"Let us now turn to the public debt. The National Debt of the United Kingdom was £826,000,000 in 1860. In 1896 it was £652,000,000, including the Suez Canal Shares. In other words, the National Debt has been reduced by £174,000,000 in thirty-six years. In India the National Debt was £51,000,000 in 1857—*i.e.*, before the Mutiny. After the Mutiny it swelled to £97,000,000 in 1862; and in thirty years from that date it went up to nearly £200,000,000. In other words, instead of being reduced, the National Debt was doubled within thirty years of internal peace in India 1862 in 1892. It is scarcely a wise policy to add to the National Debt in times of peace. If the people of India had any voice in the management of their finances they would have opposed such increase in the National Debt; they would have tried to reduce it, as it has been reduced in England.

"No doubt a large portion of the increase in the National Debt is due to the construction of railways and other public works in India. But a careful and prudent Government would have encouraged the construction of such works by private companies without incurring debts and without guaranteeing profits," pp. 142, 143.

The Public Debt of England was contracted on account of wars. The campaigns against Napoleon alone cost £581 millions.* England spends no money on irrigation works or railways; the debt is therefore wisely reduced. The Indian debt in 1853-4 amounted to 47 crores, of which only 2½ crores were due for railways. The Sepoy Mutiny, besides many thousand lives, cost about 49 crores, increasing the debt in 1859 to 74 crores, including 23 crores of railway expenditure, leaving the war debt at 51 millions. Since 1859, the debt has chiefly increased on account of the large expenditure on railways and irrigation works.

If the British Government had pursued the fatuous policy recommended by Mr. Dutt, the country would scarcely have had a single railway. It was the general belief that Indian Railways would have no *passenger* traffic. It was thought that the people attached no value to time, and would rather walk like their forefathers. No great Railway Companies could have been formed to connect the presidency cities without a guarantee.

The Indian Government followed the course pursued in Australia, though on a less daring scale, and with similar advantages.

In justice to the Bengalis, it should be stated that there are men among them who take a more sensible view of things than Mr. Dutt. Mr. T. N. Mukerji, says:—

"No country having the faintest claim to civilization should now be without its railways. When we ourselves could not make them, the next best thing was to have them made by others, for it would not be wise to wait a century or two. It is not India alone that has got its railways made by foreign skill and capital: other countries, with powerful governments of their own, have done the same."

3. Mr. Dutt on the Comparative Increase of Home and Indian Revenues.

In *England and India*, Mr. Dutt says:

"The average annual revenue of Great Britain in 1851 to 1860 was £68,000,000; the average in 1881 to 1890 was £88,000,000; and the average during the last six years has been about £100,000,000†. The revenue has thus slowly increased with the increase of population, and during a period of between forty and fifty years it has increased about 50 per cent. But what are the figures for India? The annual revenue in 1857, *i.e.*, after Dalhousie's last annexation was Rx. 32,000,000; the annual revenue, including railway receipts, is over Rx. 90,000,000; in other words the revenue obtained from the country has nearly trebled in forty years." pp. 141, 142.

Mr. Dutt contrasts British revenue *minus* Railway Receipts with Indian revenue *plus* Railway Receipts. It is true that he

* Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 262. † This was before the Boer War.

mentions including railway receipts, but he classes them as taxation, which they are not. In 1895-6, the Railway Receipts amounted to about Rx. 21,800,000, reducing the revenue from Rx. 90,000,000, to Rx. 68,200,000—a considerable difference.

4. **Mr. Dutt on Home Remittances.**—The following statement occurs in his *Economic History of India:*

"The home charges, which amounted to three millions when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, had risen to sixteen millions when the great Empress passed away. So great an economic drain out of the resources of a land would impoverish the most prosperous countries on earth; it has reduced India to a land of famines more frequent, more wide-spread and more fatal, than any known before in the history of India, or of the world." p. 420.

This is an illustration of a mischievous half truth. It is true that the Home charges have risen from three millions to sixteen millions, but the astounding assertion is made that the increase has **"reduced India to a land of famines more frequent, more wide-spread and more fatal than any known before in the history of India or of the world."**

As already mentioned, the assertion that the recent famines were the worst in the history of the world will hereafter be examined. One of the chief causes, of the increased Home charges, will now be explained.

When Queen Victoria ascended the throne, there was not a single mile of railway in India. At the close of her reign upward of 20,000 miles were open. Her reign was also distinguished for its grand Irrigation works, which now water about 15 million acres, trebling the produce. Money for their construction was borrowed in England, where the rate of interest is lowest. The interest paid is one of the chief causes in the increase of the home charges, but it is met by railway fares and water rates. Railways and Irrigation works are some of the best means of mitigating famines. The other charges are for the Civil Service and Army, without which India would be in a state of anarchy.

It will be seen from the foregoing, that Mr. Dutt's statements require to be carefully examined.

Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E.

Mr. Digby is another prophet of the Kali Yuga.
In *Prosperous India* he parades the following assertions:

"The Diminishing Income of the Indian People.

Non-official.
Estimated Income 1880;
2*d.* per head per day.

Officially Estimated Income in 1882.
1½*d.* per head per day.

Analytical Examination of all sources of income in 1900, less than ¾*d.* per head per day."

The *data* are insufficient to enable an accurate estimate to be formed of the average income of the people of India. As Sir E. Vincent said in Parliament (February 3rd, 1902), "The estimates even of an official character were, to a large extent, hypothetical." Mr. F. J. Atkinson, in his Paper before the Royal Statistical Society, formed a very different estimate. Mr. Digby asserts that an "Analytical Examination" shows that in twenty years the average income of the people of India has been reduced one-half. This simply shows that Mr. Digby is wanting in the common sense which would save him from the folly of his own ratiocinations. Can any intelligent man believe such a statement?

The *Pioneer*, referring to Mr. Digby's Pamphlet, *India's Interest in the British Ballet-box*, describes it as "mis-statement belonging to the very worst order of mis-statements; there is a general semblance without a shadow of the reality of truth."

The *Madras Mail* gives the following illustration of Mr. Digby's half truth in *Prosperous India*:

"The third head is taken up with the 'ruthless destruction of national industries.' It will scarcely be believed, but the case taken to illustrate this destruction is the decline in the shipbuilding of this country. The author quotes with gusto Lord Wellesley's letter written in 1800 in which the Governor-General said, 'The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping built in India of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England.' Surely the merest suckling novice in the subject could have told Mr. Digby that the reason why Indian shipbuilding has declined is simply that iron has taken the place of wood, that India has, as yet, no iron to build ships, and that the opening up of the Suez Canal makes a teak-built vessel no longer 'calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England.' Mr. Digby, however, considers that, to mention the above (case) is to show as by a lightning flash on a dark night how far industrially . . . . the India of Lord Curzon is behind the India of Lord Wellesley."

The "lightning flash" reveals the blindness of Mr. Digby. Nor is this all. Sir E. Vincent said in Parliament:

"As regards estimates made by Mr. Digby and quoted by the Hon'ble Member (Mr. Caine), they seemed to him to indicate the unswerving malignity with which Mr. Digby distorted evidence to the disadvantage of his countrymen."

The following is, perhaps, even worse. Mr. Digby is correspondent of *The Hindu*. The following is the heading of one of his letters:

"The Deplorable Condition of India.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, *February* 13, 1903.

"Is It
"In Spite of
or
In Consequence of
"'BRITISH CHRISTIANITY?"

"Dr. Aked thinks well of the title, and it is to be hoped that his people will think well of the remarks to be based upon it. On the following evening, Mr. Digby is to address a public meeting in the Picton Hall, Liverpool, also on Indian topics." *

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

This gentleman was for years the trusted adviser of the Congress. At the Amraoti meeting in December, 1897, the following Resolution was passed "enthusiastically:"

"The Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu proposed a vote of confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and was seconded by Babu Moti Lall Ghosh. It was carried enthusiastically."

At a meeting held at Bloomsbury, London, December, 1897, Mr. Naoroji, the Chairman, moved a Resolution in which the English Administration of India is thus characterised:

It is conducted by men guilty of "hypocrisy" and "continuous subterfuges," "in violation of acts and resolutions of the most solemn and repeated pledges of the British nation and Sovereign;" fattening upon the "ever-increasing poverty of the people;" the authors of all the "terrible misery," from which India has suffered during the century and a half of their rule; yet so pitiless that, in the year of grace 1897, threats of revolution and an appeal to the humanity and justice of the British people were necessary to put a stop, if possible, to the iniquity of their rule!

The Resolution, embodying such an opinion of the British Government of India, well characterised by the *Saturday Review* as '*blatant nonsense*,' was passed "unanimously and with considerable enthusiasm" by men supposed to be the highest "product" of forty years' University education. It well affords food for serious reflection.

* *The Hindu*, March 5, 1903.

The *Civil and Military Gazette* quotes a recent utterance of Mr. Naoroji:

The following is an extract from the proceedings of a Meeting in England:—"It had always been said" observed Mr. Naoroji, "that British capital went out to India and conferred immense benefit upon the country, but he argued that this capital was not British capital. It was the wealth first plundered from the country, which then went back to India, for what they called development, but what he called despoliation of India's resources . . . The British Government had been practically one of the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed in India."

In opposition to the vile slander that the British Government is "the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed in India"; let the opinion of it expressed by the late Sir Madhava Row, the greatest Indian statesman of recent times, be considered:

"The truth must be frankly and gratefully admitted, that the British Government of India is incomparably the best Government we have ever had. It is the strongest, the most righteous, and the best suited to India's diverse populations and diverse interests. It is the most capable of self-maintenance, of self-renovation, and self-adjustment, in reference to the progressive advancement of the subject races."*

The most searching examination is invited to the foregoing statements. Lawyers know, that if a witness can be shown to have given false evidence on any important point, discredit is thrown upon all his testimony. Is it not evident that charges brought against the British Government should be carefully scrutinised? Let us have the "stricter criteria of truth" which Sir H. S. Maine considers so necessary.

PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE OF BOOKS LIKE "PROSPEROUS INDIA."

Their exaggerations, distortion of facts, and false conclusions disgust sensible men, and they toss them aside without investigating the residuum of truth which perhaps they may contain.

A few years ago Sir Monier-Williams travelled over India, conversing freely with educated Hindus. The leading impression left upon his mind is thus stated:

"In my opinion the great problem that, before all others, presses for solution in relation to our Eastern Empire is, how can the rulers and the ruled be drawn closer together? How can more sympathy and cordial feeling be promoted between them?"†

If the British Government of India is "the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed," what feelings can the

* Quoted in *Indian Politics*, p. 101. † *Modern India*, p. 179.

people entertain towards their rulers? How can they "be drawn closer together?" On the other hand, what feelings can Europeans entertain towards a people who have such an opinion of their rule?

Sir William Hunter points out another evil result:

"English writers who tell our fellow-subjects to look to the government for every improvement in their lot, are doing a very great disservice to the Indian race. The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."*

The impression is given that the poverty of the people is caused by an "extortionate and oppressive government," and therefore Government must supply the remedy.

On the other hand, Sir Madhava Row says:—

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community!!"

No Government on earth can prevent a people, living in violation of great economic laws, from suffering the consequences. It is satisfactory that this is now acknowledged by some of the leaders of Indian public opinion. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, editor of *United India* and a prominent member of the National Congress, says with reference to the above evils:—

"To those of our countrymen who are aware only of the conditions of Indian Society, these evils do not come home with equal force. They think, and they cannot think otherwise, that the conditions which alone they know are the conditions best adapted to progress, but if they only contrast their society with those in other parts of the world and trace and analyse the causes that account for those differences they might alight on the true causes that lie at the root of our social evils. Such a comparative study will disclose the fact that the causes of social evils are not necessarily connected with the system of Government or the economic conditions of the people, but with their social customs and institutions."†

Self-Help is the gospel which the people of India, above all, need. As Sir William Hunter truly says:—

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

* *England's Work in India*, p. 137.

† *The Economic Aspect of Social Reform.* The *Kayastha Samachar*, December, 1902, p. 529.

The writer regards the situation as very grave. It can be met only by cordial co-operation between the Government and the people. Hence misstatements fitted to alienate them and lead people to look solely to Government for relief, are highly mischievous.

SUBJECTS TO BE CONSIDERED.

These are mainly the following :

I .THE GREAT AND NUMEROUS BENEFITS CONFERRED ON INDIA BY BRITISH RULE.

II. IS INDIA BECOMING RICHER OR POORER?

III. THE REFORMS STILL NECESSARY.

IV. AN APPEAL TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR ITS CO-OPERATION.

The writer, in his 84th year, may be regarded as on the border of the unseen world, where there is no *Maya* or illusion. His sole desire is to benefit the people of India by attempting to remove some misconceptions, and by showing the steps which are necessary to promote the well-being of the country. Educated Indians and the Indian Press are invited to give their calm consideration to the measures suggested, and, if approved, to accord to them their cordial support.

PART I.

THE GREAT AND NUMEROUS BENEFITS CONFERRED ON INDIA BY BRITISH RULE.

The subject will be viewed under different aspects. The aim is to endeavour to promote kindly feeling between Government and people.

PRESERVATION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY.

PAST.	1.	PRESENT.
Invasions and Piracy.		**An undisturbed Frontier.**

About 520 B.C. Darius, King of Persia, invaded India, and annexed part of the country. His success probably led Alexander the Great to follow his example in 327 B.C. For more than 800 years there was a struggle against Greco-Bactrian and Scythian

inroads. Chandra Gupta and Vikramaditiya partly won their fame by successfully contending with the invaders.

The numerous invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni are well known. They were followed by a long series of similar expeditions.

"India," says Sir W. Hunter, "has, at its north-eastern and north-western corners, two opposite sets of gateways which connect it with the rest of Asia. Through these gateways, successive hordes of invaders have poured into India, and in the last century the process was still going on. Each set of new-comers plundered and massacred without mercy and without restraint. During 700 years the warring races of Central Asia and Afghanistan filled up their measure of bloodshed and pillage to the full. Sometimes they returned with their spoil to their mountains, leaving desolation behind; sometimes they killed off or drove out the former inhabitants and settled down in India as lords of the soil; sometimes they founded imperial dynasties destined to be crushed, each in its turn, by a new host swarming into India through the Afghan passes.

"The precise meaning of the word invasion in India during the last century may be gathered from the following facts. It signified not merely a host of twenty to a hundred thousand barbarians on the march, paying for nothing, and eating up every town, and cottage, and farmyard; burning and slaughtering on the slightest provocation, and often in mere sport. It usually also meant a grand final sack and massacre at the capital of the invaded country."

The plan of the Russian general Skobeloff for the invasion of India was as follows:—

"It would be our chief duty to organise masses of Asiatic cavalry and hurling them on India as our vanguard under the banner of blood and rapine, thus bring back the days of Tamerlane."

Tennyson thus refers to Tamerlane, or Timur:—

> "Ages after, while in Asia, he that led the wild Moguls,
> Timur built his ghastly tower of eighty thousand skulls."

A brief account of Tamerlane's doings in India will explain what Skobeloff proposed.

In 1398 Timur (Tamerlane) entered India at the head of a vast Tartar horde. He defeated Mahmud Tughlak under the walls of Delhi, and entered the capital. For five days the city was given up to plunder and massacre, during which Timur was employed in giving a grand entertainment to his officers. Some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead. Part of the inhabitants had fled for safety to old Delhi. The Muhammadan historian says that Timur's men followed them, and "sent to the abyss of hell the souls of these infidels, of whose heads they erected towers, and gave their bodies for food to the birds and beasts of prey. Never was such a terrible slaughter and desolation heard of."

Timur and his army next took Meerut. The same Muhammadan writer says, "They flayed alive all the infidels of this place, they made slaves of their wives and children; they set fire to everything, and razed the wall; so that this town was soon reduced to ashes."*

During last century, in the space of twenty-three years, six inroads took place on a large scale.

"The first was led by a soldier of fortune from Persia, who slaughtered Afghan and Indian alike; the last five were regular Afghan invasions.

"On this first of the six invasions, 8,000† men, women, and children were hacked to pieces in one forenoon in the streets of Delhi. But the Persian general knew how to stop the massacre at his pleasure. The Afghan leaders had less authority, and their five great invasions during the thirteen middle years of the last century form one of the most appalling tales of bloodshed and wanton cruelty ever inflicted on the human race. In one of these invasions, the miserable capital, Delhi, again opened her gates and received the Afghans as guests. Yet for several weeks, not merely for six hours on this occasion, the citizens were exposed to every foul enormity which a barbarian army could practise on a prostrate foe. Meanwhile the Afghan cavalry were scouring the country, slaying, burning and mutilating in the meanest hamlet as in the greatest town. They took especial delight in sacking the holy places of the Hindus, and murdering the defenceless votaries at the shrines. For example, one gang of 25,000 Afghan horsemen swooped down upon the sacred city of Muttra during a festival, while it was thronged with peaceful Hindu pilgrims engaged in their devotions. They burned the houses together with their inmates, slaughtering others with the sword and lance, hauling off into captivity maidens and youths, women and children. In the temples they slaughtered cows and smeared the images and pavement with blood.

"The border-land between Afghanistan and India lay silent and waste; indeed districts far within the frontier, which had once been densely inhabited, and which are now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants."

"In the 18th century invasions and inroads were yearly events along the whole frontier of India. The Himalaya mountains, instead of serving as a northern wall to shut out aggressions, formed a line of fortresses from which the hill races poured down upon the plains. For 1,500 miles along their base stretched a thick belt of territory which no one dared to cultivate. This silent border-land varied from 20 to 50 miles in breadth, and embraced a total area of 30,000 square miles, that yielded no food for men but teemed with wild beasts which nightly sallied forth to ravage the herds and hamlets in the open country beyond." pp. 8, 9.

* History of Timur Beg by Cherefeddin Ali.
† So Scott. Elphinstone thinks 30,000 nearer the truth.

It was the same on the north-east frontier :—

"The history of the fertile valley of Assam, in the north-eastern corner of India, is one long narrative of invasion and extermination. Anciently the seat of a powerful Hindu kingdom, whose ruined forts of massive hewn stone we find buried in the jungle, Assam was devastated, like the rest of Eastern Bengal, by the fanatical Muhammadan invaders in the fifteenth century from the west. A fierce aboriginal race (the Koch) next swooped down on it from the north. They in turn were crushed by another aboriginal race (the Ahams) from the east; and these again were being exterminated by the Burmese from the south, when they implored the English to interfere. During the last century, large tracts of Assam were depopulated, and throughout that province and Eastern Bengal 30,000 square miles of fertile frontier districts lay waste." p. 10.

Piracy.—"Even the sea was a source of danger. On the Bay of Bengal, the pirates from the Burmese coast sailed up the great rivers, burning the villages, massacring or carrying off into slavery the inhabitants. On the other side of the peninsula, in the Indian Ocean, piracy was conducted on a grander scale. Wealthy rajas kept up luxurious courts upon the extortions which their pirate fleets levied from trading vessels and from the villages along the coast." pp. 10, 11.

One of Clive's achievements was rooting out the pirates' nests of the south-western coast, and the Indian navy, after sweeping the robber hordes from the sea, and rendering Indian waters as safe as the English Channel, finished its work and was abolished in 1861.

"The unruly tribes of the Himalayan frontiers had always their hill fortresses to retreat to. Their subjugation took a longer time, and is less complete; but by persuasion, and, where necessary, by chastisement, we have taught the wild races along the whole northern and north-eastern frontier, for a distance of 1,500 miles the lesson that they must please keep quiet, and betake themselves to some other livelihood than the pillage of the husbandmen on the plains.

"A firm frontier being established in Northern India, the peasantry spread themselves out upon the unoccupied border-land. The task of reclaiming these tracts has been a heavy one. In the now prosperous districts of Goalpara with its half-million of inhabitants more money was spent, until 25 years ago, by Government in rewards for killing the wild animals than the whole sum realised from the land revenue.

"The unsettled frontier of the 18th century, meant that 60,000 square miles of border-land were abandoned to jungle and wild beasts, not because there were no people to cultivate the soil, but because they did not dare to do so. It signified that tracks which might have yielded, and which will yet yield, 30 millions sterling worth of food each year lay untilled through terror of the turbulent races. The security given by a century of British rule in these frontier districts measures 13,000 square miles already brought under the plough,

giving each year 18 millions sterling worth of produce, or more than equal to the average normal cost of the Indian army and the whole defence of the Indian Empire."*

PAST.	2.	PRESENT.
Intestine Wars.		**Profound Peace.**

From the earliest times, India has been the scene of almost constant warfare. The Rig-Veda shows the fierce contests between the Aryan invaders and the aboriginal Dasyus. Sometimes an Aryan leader also fought with an Aryan leader. India has no history properly so called; but the legends indicate sanguinary struggles. "Thrice seven times did Parasuráma clear the earth of the Kshatriya caste, and he filled with their blood five large lakes." The Mahábhárata relates a succession of battles, ending in the almost entire destruction of the contending parties. At Prabhása, the Yádavas are said to have exterminated one another.

Mahomed Shah, Sultan of Gulburga, provoked a quarrel with the Hindu Maharaja of Vijayanagar, and swore an oath on the Koran that "he would not sheath the sword till he had put to death a hundred thousand infidels." The desolation caused in the war which ensued was terrible. The Muhammadan "historian records, with ill-concealed, exultation, that from first to last 500,000 'infidels' had fallen before the sword of the true believers, 'and that the Carnatic did not recover this depopulation for ages.'"†

Hindu fought with Hindu; Muhammadan with Muhammadan, and both with one another.

Macaulay thus describes the ravages of the Mahrattas:—

"The highlands which border on the western coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race which was long the terror of every native power, and which yielded only to the genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that the wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains. Soon after his death every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountain or the

* Hunter's *England's Work in India*, pp. 8-14 abridged.
† Meadows Taylor. *Indian History*. pp. 161, 162.

jungle. Many provinces redeemed the harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black mail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi; another at the head of his innumerable cavalry descended year after year on the rice fields of Bengal."

Tanks are pointed out in Bengal into which women threw themselves to escape dishonour. Calcutta had to be defended by what was called the "Mahratta Ditch."

Macaulay said in one of his speeches:

"The people were ground down to the dust by the oppressor without and the oppressor within; by the robber from whom the Nawab was unable to protect them; by the Nawab who took whatever the robber had left to them. All the evils of despotism and all the evils of anarchy pressed at once on that miserable race. They knew nothing of Government but its exactions. Desolation was in their imperial cities, and famine along the banks of their broad and redundant rivers."

Such was the condition of India before the rise of British power. Even for a number of years the same state of things prevailed in some parts of the country. The ravages of the Pindaris are thus described:

The headquarters of the Pindaris were in Central India. In 1815, a large body of them, estimated at 25,000, assembled at Nimaur, under Chitu. About 8,000 horsemen advanced into the Nizam's territories, plundering and devastating the country as far south as the Krishna, returning safely, laden with an immense booty. In 1816, another expedition, upwards of 20,000 strong, followed, a portion of which entered the Northern Circars, took Guntur, and returned, plundering as they came. Wherever they stopped, their proceedings were horribly cruel. The most ingeniously devised and agonising tortures were resorted to for the extortion of valuables, from men and women alike, and after collecting all they could, the town or village was set on fire, and the devastating horde passed on. Advancing rapidly, not a town, village, or hamlet, escaped them; but pursuit of them was impossible.

To suppress those hordes, who had the sympathy, more or less open, of all the Mahratta chiefs, the Marquis of Hastings, the Governor-General, collected the strongest British Army ever seen in India, numbering 1,12,000. The Pindaris were surrounded on all sides, and their bands were dispersed. Chitu wandered for nearly a year among the fastnesses of the Vindhya and Satpoor Hills, and at last was killed by a tiger in the jungle between Asirgarh and the Tapti river, where his half-devoured remains were discovered by a shepherd and recognised.

When, a few years ago, Sindia and Holkar met in a friendly way, it was remarked that there had not been any similar meeting for more than a century before.

In 1900-1 the entire cost of the Indian army was £15,082,799. The monthly payment per head was 1 anna 3 pies for protection against all external enemies and to secure internal peace. As mentioned above, the value of the produce of one province reclaimed from ruin would alone meet the whole outlay.

PAST. 3. PRESENT.

Thuggism and Dakoity. **Crime Repressed.**

Thuggism was a peculiar Indian institution.

Thugs were professional murderers who worshipped the goddess Kálí, or Devi. They existed in large numbers in many parts of India for more than two thousand years. Divine sanction was claimed for their horrible trade. It was said that the goddess gave their ancestors waistbands with which to destroy, first demons, and then men, by strangulation. "I am a Thug of the royal records," said one of these murderers; "I and my forefathers have been Thugs for twenty generations."

The Thugs, for the most part, belonged to particular villages, where they left their wives and children; and they outwardly followed some peaceable calling. They cultivated the fields—rented a few acres of land—or employed labouring men to work under them. A Thug set out on his dreadful journey, and every one in the village knew the cause of his departure. A certain amount of hush-money was paid to the zemindar or headman, and the police officials, in the same manner, were bribed into silence.

Before going on their expeditions, Thugs made offerings to the goddess, and carefully attended to the omens through which they supposed that she made known her wishes. They assumed many different disguises, and played many different parts. There was nothing to distinguish them from ordinary travellers. A party of them would accost a wayfarer going homewards from a journey. Cheerful talk and song would win his heart, and he would tell them freely of his private affairs, of his wife and children he was going to meet, after long years of absence, toil, and suffering. Watching a favourable opportunity on the skirts of some jungle, one of the Thugs would throw his turban cloth round the neck of their victim. Another seizing the other end of the cloth, would draw it tightly round; whilst a third would seize the man by the legs, and throw him on the ground. There could be no resistance. The work was quickly done. The body was then stripped, the property secured, and very soon the corpse

was buried. The Thugs would afterwards kindle a fire beside the grave, and feast as heartily, sing as merrily, and sleep as soundly as if they had committed an act of the greatest merit. No compunctions visited the Thugs. An English officer asked one of them, "Did you never feel pity for the old men and young children whom you murdered while they were sitting quietly by you?" "Never," was the answer.

THUGS.

Such was the confidence of the Thugs in the protecting power of the goddess, that they believed that she would not only, if religiously served, shield them from harm, but visit with her wrath all who injured them. But this claim did not stand the

test. When Thuggee was brought under the notice of the British Government, Lord William Bentinck appointed Colonel Sleeman, with several assistants, to take measures for its suppression. Within a few years this abominable system was destroyed. Colonel Sleeman established schools of industry at Jubbulpore, with a view of affording employment to adult approvers, and of educating their children.

In all countries there are thieves, but the peculiarity of India is that it had over a hundred robber castes, just as there were soldier castes and writer castes, and that men went out to prey upon the property of their fellows—and if need be on their lives—with strict religious observances, strong in the belief that they were only fulfilling their destiny and doing good service to the deity whom they adored. They gloried in their exploits as sportsmen do, and talked over a successful gang-robbery with its attendant murders, as European gentlemen talk over their tiger hunts. Besides these there were also robberies committed by men not born and bred to the profession.

After the usual sacrifices, gangs set out in parties of thirty or forty, disguised as travellers or pilgrims. Their principal weapon was the spear. The head was carried about concealed on their persons; the handles served as walking sticks. Scouts or confederates informed them where there was a rich man's house. When all arrangements had been made, they advanced to the attack.

It was always a nocturnal surprise. With flaming torches and spears glittering in the broad light, they came suddenly on the sleeping inhabitants of the doomed house, and either roused them with their noise or pricked them up with the points of their weapons. It happened that the luckless inhabitants, confused, bewildered, panic-struck, like people under the influence of a fearful dream, did all that they were directed to do—pointed out the places where their wealth was hidden, and went like sheep to the slaughter. If the dakoits thought that all the property was not given up, torture was applied. Earrings were sometimes torn away, hands and feet were chopped off as the easiest mode of removing the ornaments. In England a gang of robbers could not exist for a single day when it was known. Every influential man in the neighbourhood and the constabulary would aid in their capture. But in India the reverse was the case. The zemindar, or landed proprietor, and the headman of the village, harboured the robbers and shared in their spoil.

As with thuggee, special measures were adopted for the suppression of dakoity, and although cases still occasionally happen, they are far less numerous than before.

Efforts have also been made to reform criminals by teaching them trades and other means.

PAST.	4.	PRESENT.
Some Barbarous Customs and Slavery Legal.		**Barbarous Customs Prohibited, and Slaves set free.**

The following may be mentioned:

Human Sacrifices.—These have existed in India from the earliest times. The Rig-Veda contains seven hymns by Sunahsehpas, tied to the sacrificial post, praying for deliverance. His father, Ajígarta, had sold him for sacrifice for a hundred head of cattle.

Human sacrifices are said to be especially acceptable to Kálí. The Káliká Purána says, "By a human sacrifice, attended by the forms laid down, Devi remains gratified for a thousand years." A human sacrifice is described as *atibali*, the highest sacrifice. Before erecting a large building or commencing any important undertaking, it was common all over India to offer a human sacrifice. There are still occasionally, in some secluded parts of India, human victims killed for the delight of Kálí.

The Khonds of Orissa believed the fertility of their fields to depend upon the Earth-goddess, and she required every year to be propitiated by a human sacrifice. Children were kidnapped from the plains. When the fatal day arrived the victim was tied to a post. His arms and legs were broken with a hatchet that he might not offer any resistance. The people then cut the flesh from the bones, and buried it in their fields to make them fertile. The British Government appointed special officers to put down this custom, and it has now ceased.

From time immemorial in India, mothers offered their first-born as a sacrifice to the Ganges at Sagar Island. When a woman, long married, had no children, it was common for her to make a vow to the goddess Gangá, that if she would bestow the blessing of children, the first-born would be devoted to her. The mother herself offered her child, and if it was devoured by a crocodile, it was supposed that the goddess accepted the offering.

The custom was brought to the notice of the Marquis Wellesley by the missionary, William Carey, and in 1802 it was prohibited.

Widow-Burning.—The cruel treatment of women in India reached its climax in widow-burning. That sons should burn their mothers alive when they became widows, seems too horrible an idea to enter the mind. Yet some Hindus, in the nineteenth century, contended earnestly for the privilege.

In Vedic times widow-burning was not practised, and there is not a single verse authorising it. The Brahmans, however, sought to support it by the mistranslation of a text.

To induce widows to submit to death in this cruel manner, life was made bitter to them in every conceivable way. But as this was not sufficient, they were told that they would not only

be pre-eminently virtuous, but enjoy happiness for almost endless ages in another world, if they burnt themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands.

In 1829, Lord William Bentinck, after suitable inquiries, passed a regulation declaring the practice of Satí illegal and punishable in the Criminal Courts.

Female Infanticide.—One of the most foolish customs of the people of India is their extravagant expenditure on marriages. To gratify their pride, some load themselves with debt which presses heavily to the end of their lives. To avoid the expense, it was the custom among some of the Rajputs to destroy their female infants at birth. The mother was the executioner. She rubbed the nipples of her breast with opium, and the babe sucked in poison with its first milk. It was first made known to the British Government by Jonathan Duncan. All births were required to be registered in villages in which it prevailed, and gradually female children were spared.

Barbarous Punishments.—According to the laws of Manu, a thief who steals above a certain amount is to have his hands cut off. This is not only barbarous, but renders a man unable to get his livelihood in an honest manner. Cutting off the feet or cutting out the tongue were other punishments. Elephants were employed in various ways. They trampled persons to death or tore off their limbs; their hoofs were cased with sharp iron instruments, the extremities of which were like knives, and they cut people to pieces. Impaling on bamboos, pouring molten lead down the throat, and flaying alive, were other punishments. All such cruelties have now ceased.

Slavery abolished.—This existed in India from the earliest times. Its abolition originated with Lord Auckland, and was carried out by Mr. Wilberforce Bird, while acting for Lord Ellenborough.

PAST.	PRESENT.
Multitudes perishing during Famines.	**Lives saved by Relief Works.**

In his *Economic History of British India*, Mr. R. C. Dutt makes the following assertion:

"The famines which have desolated India within the last quarter of the 19th century are unexampled in their extent and intensity in the history of ancient and modern times."*

Attention is invited to the following statements:—

The Shanti Parva of the Mahábhárata describes a famine of *twelve years duration!* Such was the scarcity of food, that the

*Preface, p. vi.

renowned Rishi, Vasishtha, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmá, to prevent death from starvation, had to steal at night dog's flesh from the hut of a chandála, which he ate, after piously offering a portion to the gods and *pitris*.

Manu's Code relates the following of Vámadeva, a Rishi nearly equal in sanctity to Vasishtha:—

106. Vámadeva, who well knew right and wrong, did not sully himself when tormented (by hunger) he desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life. X.

Other allusions to terrible famines occur in ancient Hindu writings. Mr. S. Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar says:—

"The Rámáyana mentions a severe and prolonged drought which occurred in Northern India. According to the Orissa legends, severe famines occurred between 1107 and 1143 A.D. The memory of a 12 years' famine, 'Dvadasavarsha Panjam,' lives in tradition in Southern India. Duff, in his history of the Marathas, states that in 1396 the dreadful famine, distinguished from all others by the name Durga Devi, commenced in Maharastra."

Mr. S. M. Mitra, editor of the *Deccan Post*, Hyderabad, gives in *The Indian Review* for March 1903, accounts of terrible Indian famines in 960, 1390, and 1446, A.D., but it is sufficient to quote what he says of famines in Akbar's reign:—

"It is admitted by every one that Akbar's reign was the best in the Mahomedan History of India. Let us see how the great Akbar fared as regards famine. Three great famines desolated the country during his reign. Abul Fazal Allami, in his *Akbarnamah*, refers to one of these thus:—'Men could not find corn, they were driven to the extremity of *eating each other, and some formed themselves into parties to carry off lone individuals for their food.*' The *Ain-i-Akbari* admits 'at the time of famine and distress parents were allowed to sell their children.'"

"Let another Mahomedan historian give his version of famine in Akbar's time:—*Zuhdat-ut-Ta-warikh* was written by Shaikh Nurul Haq in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign *viz.*, 1596 A. D. The third great famine of Akbar's reign, which took place only a year before the work was written, was a very severe one. 'A fearful famine raged continuously for 3 or 4 years *throughout the whole of Hindustan*. A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period and *depopulated the whole cities*, nothing to say of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of *ravenous hunger, human flesh was eaten. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal.*'"

After considering the foregoing statements, can it be truly said that the *recent famines were "unexampled in their extent and intensity in the history of ancient and modern times"?*

Sir W. Hunter says:—

"Famine is now recognized as one of the most difficult problems with which the Indian administration has to deal. A hundred years ago it was regarded, not as a problem of administration, but as a visitation of God, utterly beyond the control of man. When the rains on which the crops depended fell short, no crops were reared, and the people perished. The earth had yielded no food, and so the people, in the ordinary and legitimate course of things, died."

In former times people perished by lakhs or even millions, the want of roads and railways rendering it impossible to supply them with food.

The British Government acts on the principle that no life shall be lost during a famine that can be preserved. "A vast organization," says Sir W. Hunter, "of preventive and remedial agency is constantly kept in readiness to deal with the periodically recurring dearths." A Famine Code has been drawn up, after very careful inquiry, to relieve sufferers yet guard against fraud.

PAST.	6.	PRESENT.
Sanitation ignored.		**Various efforts to promote the Health of the People.**

The Buddhist King Asoka sought to grow and disseminate medicinal herbs and roots, but for the next two thousand years Hindu and Muhammadan governments seem not to have made any efforts to improve the sanitary condition of the people.

Some of the means employed by the British Government will now be mentioned.

Providing Quinine.—Fevers cause more deaths in India than all other diseases taken together. In some feverish districts, if a person walk round in the evening, he will find in almost every house some one suffering under an attack of fever or preparing for it. In addition to the pain felt, there is great loss of money through inability to labour during attacks.

The best medicine for fever yet known is a white powder, called quinine, obtained from the bark of a tree first found in the forests of South America; but until recent years it was too expensive for general use. The British Government sent an officer to South America, on the opposite side of the globe, to bring some of the plants yielding the medicine to this country. Plantations were formed on the Himalayas and Nilgiris, and a skilled European was appointed for its manufacture. The price has been greatly reduced, and it is now sold in ¼ anna packets at many post-offices. Lakhs of lives are saved every year through its use.

Vaccination.—Small-pox is a fatal disease, and blinds many whom it does not deprive of life. In India there is a proverb,

"A mother can never say that she has a son till he has had small-pox." The great safeguard against small-pox, is vaccination, discovered in England last century. The word comes from the Latin *vacca*, a 'cow.' The matter used was first got from a cow, and people may be vaccinated from cows or calves. Vaccinators are employed by Government to go over all the country, and vaccinate the people free of charge. There should be not less than four punctures in the skin, and for several days they should be protected from rubbing. Nothing whatever should be applied to them. Vaccination in infancy and at puberty secures almost perfect protection from the disease.

Small-pox spreads by poison seeds given out by those who have the disease. It is very catching. None should go near the sick except those taking care of them. A person who has had the disease should not be allowed to see others till all the crusts have fallen off. The clothes of the sick should not be mixed with other clothes, but boiled and dried separately.

The Plague.—Hindu medical books, written several hundred years ago, tell of the ravages of the plague in India. Towns sometimes lost half their population. Supposed to have been brought from China, it broke out in Bombay in 1896. The inhabitants, fleeing in great numbers, carried the seeds of the disease to other parts of the country. If the cases had been made known and the patients removed to hospitals with plenty of fresh air, its progress might have been greatly checked; but, instead of that, they were concealed, and the disease spread among the small, over-crowded houses.

Cleanliness and fresh air are great safeguards against the plague; but Professor Haffkine has discovered a remedy, somewhat like vaccination, which has been the means of saving many lives. It is called *plague inoculation*. It causes only a slight fever for a day or two. When an outbreak is threatened, all should be inoculated.

Medical Colleges.—Any man in India may set up as a doctor; but, if unskilled, he may do more harm than good. In 1835, while Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General, Medical Colleges were opened at Calcutta and Madras, to which others were afterwards added. A supply of well-trained doctors is now being provided.

Hospitals and Dispensaries.—There are thousands of these scattered over India, where the poor can receive skilful medical treatment free of charge. The chief fault is that some do not go to them until a cure is impossible, and then the hospitals are blamed. Diseases can often be checked if taken early. There are General Hospitals, Eye Hospitals, Hospitals for Women, Lunatic Asylums for Mad People, &c.

Lady Dufferin Hospitals.—This class of hospitals deserves

special mention. The Maharani of Puna suffered very much from a painful disease, of which she was cured by a European lady doctor. She sent a message to the Queen-Empress, telling how much the women of India suffered when they were sick, and begged that means might be taken for their relief. When Lady Dufferin went out to India in 1884 with Lord Dufferin, the Queen-Empress commissioned her to devise some remedy. After her arrival in India, an Association was formed to train women as doctors and nurses, to establish hospitals for women and children, and to supply trained female nurses. Lady Dufferin took up the work very warmly, and much good has been the result.

Health Officers.—There are Sanitary Commissioners, &c. appointed to watch over the health of the country; to report any outbreak of disease, and to take measures to prevent it from spreading.

Births and deaths have to be registered. If births fall below the proper number, it shows that the people are not prosperous. When deaths are more numerous than they ought to be, inquiry is made into the cause.

Some Cities have been provided with a pure Water supply.—Water has a great influence upon health. The reason frequently assigned for ill-health, is that the water does not agree with a person. Bad water is one of the chief causes of cholera. Contrast the past and present water supply of Calcutta:

"To nine-tenths of the inhabitants clean water was unknown. They drank either the filthy water of the river, polluted with every conceivable abomination, or the still filthier contents of shallow tanks. The river, which was the main sources of supply to thousands of people, was not only the receptacle for ordinary filth; it was the great graveyard of the city. I forget now how many thousand corpses were thrown into it every year."

Now an abundant supply of pure water is available.

Duty of Educated Men.—All that is done by Government to improve the health of the people is largely counteracted by their ignorance. In this way disease has spread, and lakhs of lives have been sacrificed. Intelligent Indians should make their houses and compounds models of cleanliness. If not already obtained, great efforts should be made to have a pure water supply. They and their families should be vaccinated, and, if plague threatens, inoculated. All their influence should be used to induce their neighbours to follow their example. If the laws of health were observed in India, cases of sickness would be reduced one-half, and life would be lengthened several years.

II. MATERIAL PROGRESS.

Under this head are included measures fitted to increase the wealth of the country.

PAST.	7.	PRESENT.
Irrigation Works on a smaller scale.		**Irrigation Works largely extended.**

Plant life cannot exist without moisture. It must either be supplied by natural or artificial means. In some parts of India there is an abundant rainfall. At Cherrapunji, in the Province of Assam, if all the rain that falls in a year were collected, it would form a lake 40 feet deep, covering the whole district. On the other hand, there are tracts where the rainfall is less than an inch a year. Between these extremes there is every variety.

Lower Burma, Assam, Eastern Bengal, the Himalayas, and the West Coast of India have generally an abundant supply of rain. The average rainfall of Rangoon is 98 inches; that of Calcutta, 66 inches; Bombay is nearly the same, 67 inches; Madras is much less, 44 inches. The following are the averages at some other stations. Delhi and Agra 26 inches; Lahore 18 inches; Multan 7 inches; Jacobabad 4 inches.

A great part of the rainfall flows off in rivers, but much of it also sinks into the soil, and forms underground reservoirs. The most important of these stretches from Peshawar to Calcutta, and may be called an underground fresh-water sea, from which the water is raised by wells. The distance from the surface varies. The black cotton soil is noted for its power of retaining moisture.

The different means of irrigation will now be noticed.

Wells.—These form the most general system of watering lands, and are found, more or less, all over the country. The labour is great; but the water is used with more care than that supplied by canals. The chief defect is that many of the wells are not deep enough, and the water fails when most needed. Government is encouraging the digging and deepening of wells by advances. The mode of raising water may also be improved.

At present Government offers loans for well-digging and other agricultural improvements. The Famine Commission Report states why they are not more taken advantage of than at present: "The obstacles created by inefficient native officials to whom such grants give extra trouble; by the delays, expense, and troublesome formalities accompanying the grant, by the charge of interest, the small number of years over which the repayments are spread, the early date at which they commence, and the rigid rules as to punctual repayment." To remedy this state of things, a special agency is recommended.

Tanks.—Reservoirs, known as tanks, have been employed from early times. In most cases they are hollows in the ground, partly excavated; others have been formed by the construction of dams of masonry or earth across the outlets of valleys in the hills. They are fed sometimes by rivers; sometimes by the rainfall. They vary in size from ponds irrigating a few acres, to lakes several miles in circumference. The Sulkare tank in Mysore is 40 miles round.

Canals.—In South India these have long been employed. Canals were dug from the rivers to irrigate the adjoining land. In the case of the river Tamraparni, in Tinnevelly, it is said that scarcely any of its water reached the sea.

In North India the first canal mentioned is that of Feroz Shah, about 1351 A.D. Water was drawn off from the Jumna to supply his palace at Hissar, a new city which he founded on the edge of the desert. Two hundred years later, it was re-opened by Akbar. About 1628 Ali Mardan Khan, the engineer of Shah Jahan, took off a large canal from the Jumna to bring water to Delhi. Another canal went to the North-West. During the troubles that followed the breaking up of the Mogul Empire, the canals silted up, and became useless.

In the year 1817, the British Government began to restore the old irrigation canals and to construct others. The Ganges Canals are the greatest irrigation works in the world. When the river is low, nearly the whole water at Hardwar is thrown into a canal, by which it is distributed over the country. At one place the canal has to be carried by an aqueduct over the bed of a river, two miles wide. The length of the main channels exceeds 1000 miles, and there are more than 5,000 miles of distributories. In one year of drought the value of the crops raised by the canal equalled its entire cost.

Three canals distribute, in a similar way, a great part of the water brought by the Jumna from the Himalayas. In the Punjab, works of equal importance have been constructed to utilise the waters of the Sutlej, the Ravi, and other rivers.

At the head of the deltas of the Godavari and Krishna, before they reach the sea, great dams, or *anicuts*, are thrown across the rivers, and the water is diverted into irrigation canals, some of which are also used for navigation. The same plan has been adopted with other rivers.

In 1901 canals irrigated 15,104,520 acres, while the Total Area irrigated amounted to 30,056,000 acres, equal to 47,000 square miles.*

* *36th Statistical Abstract*, p. 121.

The value of the produce of an acre of irrigated land is about thrice that of unirrigated land. This shows how much agricultural produce has increased.

While irrigation works should be extended as far as practicable, there is a limit to them. There must be water before it can be drawn off, and the supply must not fail when it is most needed. Most failures have been in connection with the black cotton soil.

PAST.	8.	PRESENT.
Roads mere tracks.		**Roads made and the largest Rivers spanned by Bridges.**

Savages carry themselves the few articles they possess. People not so rude employ bullocks and horses. A bullock will carry about as much as three men. Civilised nations use carts, by which the load can be greatly increased. Where civilization has not made much progress, carts travel along mere tracks. In this case, sand, mud, steep places and hollows often prevent carts from taking large loads. Enlightened nations take care to have good roads. Hills are avoided if possible; cuttings are made through ridges, hollows are filled up. The road is laid with small broken stones, or other suitable materials, pressed down so as to present a smooth hard surface. Ditches are dug on each side to carry away water; rivers are bridged. A pair of bullocks will draw a load three times as heavy on a good road as on a bad one, reducing the cost proportionately.

When English rule commenced in India, there was not a single good road in the country. For years attention was so much taken up with other things, that road-making was neglected. During the administration of Lord William Bentinck, the Grand Trunk Road to Delhi was commenced, which was afterwards extended to Peshawar, a distance of 1423 miles. Calcutta and Bombay, Bombay and Madras were next connected by roads, and, by degrees, the principal cities have been thus linked together, and a network of roads is gradually covering the whole country.

Formerly rivers had to be forded or crossed over in boats. Many accidents happened to ferry boats, and in seasons of flood great rivers were sometimes impassable. Now rivers like the Ganges, Jumna, and Indus have splendid bridges.

PAST.	9.	PRESENT.
Carts and Palanquins.		**Railways and Telegraphs.**

Formerly in India poor men travelled on foot by day, and rested under trees by night. The rich rode on ponies, or were carried in palanquins at the rate of four miles an hour. Travellers were exposed to fatigue, to the weather, to robbers, to sickness, and sometimes had to lie down and die alone. What a

difference to be whirled along smoothly, quicker than a race horse! In 1901 the number of passengers carried was 195,420,555.

Railways in India were commenced under Lord Dalhousie, and he planned the great lines which were afterwards constructed. The first Railway, 20 miles in length, was opened in 1853 between Bombay and Thana. The next year the East India Railway was opened from Calcutta to Punduah, a distance of 38 miles; and the Madras Railway to Arcot, 65 miles, in 1856. Additions have gradually been made till, in 1901, 25,214 miles were open, and about 3,000 miles were in course of construction. A net-work of railways is gradually being extended over the whole country.

Indian railways are of three classes. The great bulk consist of *commercial railways, for trading purposes.* Most of these yield a profit. The net earnings of the East Indian State Railway during 1895 amounted to 373 lakhs. The second class of railways run through thinly peopled tracts, to *protect them against famine.* Such are not expected to pay; but they are invaluable in droughts. The third class are *defensive against invasion.* Of these there are very few. The principal is from Jacobabad, in Sind, up the Bolan Pass to Chaman in Baluchistan. Though costly, it will help greatly to civilise the wild tribes through whose country it passes.

Railways, besides facilities for travelling, have some other great advantages.

Increased Cultivation and reduced Prices.—Some parts of the Central Provinces are very fertile. The people are nearly all cultivators. They formerly raised so much grain that they did not know what to do with it. Nobody wanted it. They therefore sometimes let their cattle eat the ripened grain, lest it should rot on the ground. There were no roads, and a bulky article like grain can be carried by oxen only a short distance with any profit. A cart has a great advantage over pack oxen. But railways are far superior even to the best roads. Salt and other articles are now cheaper in the interior than they were before, and farmers get a better price for their produce.

Advantages of Railways in Famines.—It very rarely, if ever, happens that famine extends over the whole country. While one province may have suffered severely, another has had an abundant harvest. Before British rule the country was without roads, Goods were conveyed by pack oxen, or by rude carts. Until recently there were tracts where a cart excited almost as much curiosity as a locomotive at present. Carriage by pack oxen is exceedingly expensive; even by cart it is high. When famine prevails over a wide range, pack oxen and carts become almost useless. The oxen require water and fodder, which cannot be supplied in famine districts. On the other hand, a railway train

carries its own supply of water and fuel, while it conveys as much as a thousand oxen at ten times the speed. Thus railways are one of the best means of mitigating the severity of famines. It is true that about five millions of people perished in South India during the famine in 1877 and 1878; but it was the most severe for a whole century, and railways were not sufficiently extended to distribute the food provided. During the recent famines, the loss of life has been comparatively small.

It may also be mentioned that railways reduce greatly the cost of the army. Formerly it was necessary to maintain bodies of soldiers at a great many places to meet emergencies. A much smaller number is now necessary, as troops can be sent rapidly by rail.

Two common objections may be answered:

1. **Railways throw people out of Employment.**—Pack oxen have now disappeared; goods are often sent by rail instead of cart.

If some suffer in this way, millions are benefited. But railways provide work for many more than they throw out of employment. Goods must be taken from the stations and carried to them by pack oxen or carts. The railways themselves give direct employment to a large body of men. In 1901 their staff consisted of 5,489 Europeans, 8,182 East Indians, and 356,766 Indians.*

Of necessity at first all the drivers were Europeans; but they are gradually being replaced by Indians.

2. **Railways have been constructed with English capital, and the interest is lost to the country.**—Money is plentiful in England and scarce in India. It can be borrowed in England at 3 per cent.; in India 12 per cent. is not an uncommon rate. People in India who have money will rather invest it where high interest can be obtained than in railways. Mr. T. N. Mukerji, thus answers this objection:

"No better employment can be found for foreign capital in this country than in the construction of railways. Wherever they have traversed, their power to increase the efficiency of land, labour, and capital to produce wealth, has been marvellous. Railways are the wings of commerce, by the aid of which it reaches the most distant lands, scattering wealth and activity in its track. A generation ago, the peasants of the North-West Provinces could hardly even dream that the *munj* grass growing on the boundary ridges of their fields would be paid for in bright silver, taken hundreds of miles away to Bally, near Calcutta, and there made into paper."

The total Capital Outlay on Railways to the end of 1901 was about 340 crores.† The great bulk of this sum was obtained in England at a comparatively low rate of interest.

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* *36th Statistical Abstract*, p. 132. † *36th Statistical Abstract*, p. 132.

Indian Railways now not only meet all charges from their earnings, but in 1901 yielded a profit of 115 lakhs.—This profit will largely increase and become an important source of revenue, while very great benefit is conferred on the country.

TELEGRAPHS.

The word TELEGRAPH comes from *tēle*, 'far off,' and *graphō*, 'I write.' It is the general name for any means of conveying intelligence other than by the voice or written messages. The earliest form, perhaps, was by beacon fires; signals, like those on railways, were afterwards employed. In 1632, Galileo, the great Italian astronomer, thought that it might be possible to converse at great distances by magnetic needles; but it was not till 1837 that the electric telegraph was brought into operation. Wheatstone in England and Morse in America were the two inventors.

The principle is that a magnetic needle, suspended, can be made to turn to the right or left by a current of electricity passing along a wire. One deflection to the right and one to the left denote the letters *t* and *e*. The other letters are denoted by two, three, or four combinations.

Telegraphs in India were commenced in 1851. In 1900-01 there were 55,055 miles of line, 181,883 miles of wire and 296 miles of cable. The number of paid telegrams was 6,449,372. The gross receipts amounted to £753,764; the charges to £472,284 yielding a profit of £281,502.

Messages can be sent by telegraph from India to the principal countries in the world. Intelligence may reach England within a few minutes. In like manner news is flashed to India from all quarters.

Messages by the voice can be sent through an instrument, called the *telephone*, 'far off sound.'

The telegraph is a great convenience and advantage in several ways.

PAST.	10.	PRESENT.
Limited Commerce.		**Extensive Commerce.**

By *Commerce* is meant the exchange of goods on a large scale between nations and individuals. Goods consist of two great classes:—*Exports*, articles *sent out*, and *Imports*, articles *brought in*.

All countries have not the same products; some excel in one manufacture, some in another. It is desirable that the different nations of the world should freely exchange goods, so that each may have the best articles.

The total amount of exports and imports per head is a very good test of the wealth of a country. They show how much a

people have to sell, how much they can afford to buy. A King of France asked a traveller about the condition of a foreign country which he visited. His reply was, "Sire, it produces nothing and consumes nothing;" on which the King justly remarked that this was saying much in few words. Such was the condition of Australia when discovered by Europeans. The aborigines neither bought nor sold anything. Now, from about 3½ millions of people a revenue of 24 millions sterling is obtained, about equal to half that of British India, exclusive of railway earnings. The commerce amounts to about Rs. 565 per head a year.

Mulhall * has an interesting table, showing the growth of British commerce, from which a few items are quoted:—

Year.	Reign.	Total Amount. £	Per Inhabitant. £ s. d.
1355	Edward III.	414,000	0 2 10
1573	Elizabeth	3,980,000	0 15 0
1697	William III.	7,000,000	1 5 6
1790	George III.	39,000,000	3 18 0
1889	Victoria	740,200,000	19 10 0

There has been a similar development in Indian commerce. Sir William Hunter says:

"Early in the last century, before the English became the ruling power in India, the country did not produce a million sterling a year of staples for exportation. During the first three-quarters of a century of our rule, the exports slowly rose to about eleven millions in 1830. During the half century which has elapsed since that date, they have quickly multiplied by sixfold. In 1880 India sold to foreign nations 66 millions sterling worth of strictly Indian produce, which the Indian husbandman had reared, and for which he was paid. In that year the total trade of India, including exports and imports, exceeded 122 millions sterling.

"When we obtained Calcutta in 1686, it consisted of three mud hamlets, scarcely raised above the river slime, without any trade whatever. After a century and a half of British rule, the total value of the sea-borne trade of Calcutta in 1820 was 12 millions sterling. In 1879, it had risen to over 61¼ millions sterling, besides 45 millions of trade with the interior, making a total commerce of 106 millions sterling a year at a town which had not ten pounds' worth of external trade when the British settled there."

The great increase in Indian commerce since 1861 is shown by the following statement:—

Year.	Population.	Imports. Rx.	Exports. Rx.	Total. Rx.	Average per head. Rs. A. P.
1861	144,674,615	34,170,793	34,090,154	68,260,947	4 11 6
1871	189,613,238	39,913,942	57,556,951	97,470,893	5 3 0
1881	198,790,853	62,104,984	76,021,043	138,126,027	7 0 0
1891	221,172,952	93,909,856	102,350,526	196,260,382	8 14 0
1901	231,898,807	105,461,351	121,945,960	227,403,911	9 13 10

* *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 131.

Since 1861, the average per head of Indian commerce has more than doubled. Apart from the depreciation of silver, it is now greater than it was in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and a gradual increase will follow.

Three complaints about Indian commerce may be noticed, arising from erroneous ideas of political economy.

1. *The Exports are greater than the Imports.*—Some Indians now think that their country is getting poorer because the exports exceed the imports. This is no test of wealth. Many other things require to be taken into consideration. The United States and England are the two richest countries in the world. The exports of the former, like those of India, exceed the imports; whereas the contrary is the case with England.

The total Imports and Exports in millions of dollars or pounds of the United States and England are given at different periods:

	United States.		England.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
1877	$ 492	$ 658	£431	£272
1896	780	863	442	296
1900	848	1,370	485	329
	2,120	2,891	1,358	997

This shows that the mere comparative amounts of imports and exports are a fallacious test of prosperity.

2. *The Exports consist mainly of raw Produce.*—Every country should mainly produce that for which it has the greatest natural advantages. England is rich in coal and iron, the great requirements in modern manufactures. It is therefore most profitable to England to import food and raw produce, giving in exchange manufactured goods.

India has plenty of iron ore, but it has only scattered patches of coal, without which the former is of little avail. It is also only recently that these patches have been worked. On the other hand, India has fertile plains, with brilliant sunshine, favourable to the growth of cotton, grain, indigo, &c. While manufactures should be encouraged, India must be chiefly agricultural.

The United States of America forms one of the largest and richest countries in the world, while its people are most intelligent and energetic; yet its exports likewise consist chiefly of raw produce.

The United States, however, is doing its utmost to encourage manufactures, and it will be shown under another head, that

in India considerable progress has been made in the same direction.

3. *English Merchants reap all the benefits of Indian Commerce.*

English merchants are thus described by an influential Indian journal:

"English merchants during a sway of nearly a century rifled the land of all its wealth. A century of plunder! And now what has succeeded it? The 'Spoliation of India,' has it ceased? Certainly not. It is going on as vigorously as ever."

"English merchants have come here to turn a penny by fair means or foul. They are perfect masters of envy, intrigue, and malice."

It is the wise arrangement of Providence that men may do the greatest service to the public when they are thinking of nothing but their own interest.

A farmer raises grain simply for his own profit, although other people would starve if he did not. A shopkeeper does not commence business for the benefit of the public, and he sells the best goods at the lowest rates he can simply to attract customers. A lawyer studies hard to attain a high rank in his profession merely to secure more clients As a rule, Europeans come to India simply to better themselves. It is, however, the interest of all classes of Englishmen that the people of India should be rich and prosperous. Officials will get higher salaries; the more the people have to sell, the more they are able to buy, the better it will be for the merchants. The capital merchants introduce is the life's blood of commerce. They have opened up fresh sources of industries; through their competition ryots get higher prices for their produce, and can purchase goods at cheaper rates. No men have done more to increase the wealth of India than the maligned English merchants.

Three industries are *mainly* in the hands of Europeans, Tea, Coffee and Indigo. The exports of each during 1901 were as follows.*

	£
Coffee	822,499
Indigo	1,423,987
Tea	6,454,815
	8,701,301
Other Exports	60,739,031
Grand Total ...	69,440,332

* *36th Statistical Abstract*, p. 155.

Some of the principal other exports were the following :—

	£
Cotton, raw and manufactured ...	11,386,281
Rice	8,816,338
Hides, raw and dressed	7,655,722
Jute, raw and manufactured ...	12,488,443
Opium	6,303,024
Seeds	6,012,241

It will be seen that Tea, Coffee and Indigo constitute only about one-seventh of the exports of India. The great bulk are raised by the people themselves and paid to them directly. It is however a mistake to think that Europeans get all the profits on the three articles mentioned. The greater part of the proceeds is spent on labour in the country. Many Tea Companies yield only a small percentage of profit; the Indigoindustry is now in a precarious position. The labourers on tea gardens are among the best fed in India.

Mr. T. N. Mukerji thus shows the value of foreign commerce :

"What now requires to be taken into consideration is that foreign trade conferred an exchangeable value on various results of labour which they did not possess before or possessed only in a limited degree, or in other words, foreign trade converted those things into wealth which were not wealth before or were wealth of a lesser value. Jute had practically no exchangeable value before; it has been converted into gold by the mere touch of the foreign trade. Some years ago myrobalams could be seen rotting in the jungles; foreign trade touched them and converted them into gold."

Great advantage of Large Exports.—Railways and Irrigation works, of the greatest benefit to the country, have been constructed with money borrowed from England at a low rate of interest, but which amounts to about seven crores a year. Instead of annually remitting to England seven crores in silver and gold, it is sent in produce, while the precious metals remain in the country.

PAST. 11 PRESENT.

Palaces and Tombs. Public Buildings.

Hindu and Muhammadan sovereigns spent large sums on splendid palaces and tombs. The tomb of Nur Mahal, Shah Jahan's favourite wife, cost upwards of three crores. As a rule, the funds of the British Government have been spent on buildings of public utility.

Sir W. Hunter says :—

"The English have had to build up, from the very foundations, the fabric of a civilised government. The material framework for such a

government, its court houses, public buildings, barracks, jails, hospitals and schools, have cost not less than a hundred millions sterling." p. 114.

He imagines an Indian of the last century restored to life, and wandering about the country :—

"He would see the country dotted with imposing edifices in a strange foreign architecture, of which he could not guess the uses. He would ask what wealthy prince had reared for himself that spacious palace? He would be answered that the building was no pleasure-house for the rich, but a hospital for the poor. He would inquire, in honour of what new deity is this splendid shrine? He would be told that it was no new temple to the gods, but a school for the people." p. 4.

Sir W. Hunter says :—

"Shortly after Bombay was ceded by the Portuguese to the British crown in 1661 as part of the dower of the wife of Charles II, the king was glad to hand over his unprofitable acquisition, which was then considered the grave of Europeans, to a Company of London merchants, for an annual payment of £10 in gold." p. 33.*

Instead of a few fishermen, Bombay has now a population of 776,000, is the greatest commercial city in Asia, and is studded with magnificent buildings.

Sir W. Hunter says :—

"The history of Calcutta is still more striking. Less than two centuries ago, when our countrymen first settled in Calcutta, they were a poor band of fugitive merchants, seeking shelter from the extortions of the native ruler of Bengal; and the future City of Palaces consisted of three clusters of mud huts on the river bank." p. 33.

Contrast Dalhousie Square with what it was thirty years ago! Look at its present noble ranges of buildings! The "Palaces," in which Europeans reside in Calcutta, are not owned by them; but rented from Indians at rates so high as to have become a very heavy burden. The same remark largely applies to the whole country.

Madras, the Cinderella of the Presidencies, can point to her new splendid Law Courts, the Post Office, Senate House, Law College, Connemara Library, &c. A still more striking proof of the growing wealth of the country is afforded by the palatial structures which some tradesmen have erected for their places of business.

If India were becoming poorer and poorer, when a building fell into decay, bricks would be replaced by mud, and tiles, by thatch. The reverse is generally the case; the houses are improving.

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* The pages refer to *England's Works in India*, p. 33.

Sir W. Hunter says :—

"There is more accumulated wealth held by natives in two cities of British India, Calcutta and Bombay, cities which a couple of centuries ago were mud-hamlets,—than all the treasures of the Imperial and local courts under the Mughal Empire."

PAST. 12. PRESENT.

Small Import of Precious Metals. **Large Import of Precious Metals.**

India can obtain gold and silver from other countries only in exchange for her produce. Before it came under British rule. its exports were taken away by small sailing vessels and camels. The whole amount must have been comparatively small, and the payment proportionate. In the early days of the East India Company not more than three lakhs a year in treasure was allowed to be sent out to India.

Instead of a few sailing ships, the English, French, Germans, and Italians, have fleets of steam vessels trading to India, some of them as large as ten sailing ships.

Mr. O'Conor gives statistics of the net import of treasure since 1835. At first it averaged two crores a year, gradually increasing to about ten crores. Since 1835 India has absorbed in gold and silver upwards of 620 crores. India never was so rich in gold and silver as she is now.

"Money," says *The Edinburgh Review*, "is property in its most condensed, least perishable, and most available form." But its value depends upon the use made of it.

The gold has almost exclusively been converted into ornaments, and some of the silver has been similarly employed. *The Advocate of India* says :—

"Never during its existence has India been so rich in jewellery as now. The people are always adding to their stock. Savings from nearly all sources are disposed of in this way. The making and the storing away of wealth in this form is the national peculiarity of this country. It is indulged in by all classes of Natives....So great in value is the new jewellery that is introduced into families by marriage that we dare not estimate it; the amount would be so fabulous."

The amount now held in jewels in India cannot be less than 300 crores: it is probably much greater. At 12 per cent. interest, it would yield 36 crores a year—far more than the entire land-revenue of British India.

Nor is the loss of interest the only evil from converting gold and silver into jewels. Dakoities are committed and numbers of women are murdered every year, chiefly on account of their jewels. The same remarks applies to children. The parents, in such cases, through their folly and pride, have caused their death.

It is true that with ignorant people who cannot read or write, converting savings into jewels, is all that can be expected, and is certainly better than wasting them. But educated persons should open accounts with Savings Banks, of which there are now great numbers scattered over the country.

It is, however, satisfactory that not only are some of the people prosperous, but they are beginning to learn to use their money with advantage. This will be shown under another head.

III. CIVIL RIGHTS.

PAST.	13.	PRESENT.
Caste.		**Equality in Law.**

The present iniquitous system of caste was unknown in Vedic times. Max Müller, who devoted nearly a life-time to the study of the Vedas, says:—

"There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the Veda for the complicated system of castes. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. There is no law to sanction the blasphemous pretensions of a priesthood to divine honours, or the degradation of any human being to a state below the animal." *Chips*, Vol. II.

By degrees the Brahmans developed the system which is explained in the Laws of Manu. The laws were never fully carried out, but they show the aims of the Brahmans. The following are some extracts.

Brahmans.

93. Since he sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first-born, and since he holds the Vedas, the Brahman is, by right, the lord of all this creation.

100. Thus whatever exists in the universe is all the property of the Brahmans; for the Brahman is entitled to all by his superiority and eminence of birth.

380. Certainly (the king) should not slay a Brahman even if he be occupied in crime of every sort; but he should put him out of the realm in possession of all his property, and uninjured (in body). Book I.

Sudras.

413. But a Sudra, whether bought or not bought, (the Brahman) may compel to practise servitude; for that (Sudra) was created by the Self-existent merely for the service of the Brahman.

417. A Brahman may take possession of the goods of a Sudra with perfect peace of mind, for, since nothing at all belongs to that

(Sudra) as his own, he is one whose property may be taken away by his master. Book VIII.

It is granted that caste has some advantages. It promotes a stationary semi-civilisation. It binds together men of the same class; it promotes cleanliness; and it is a check, in certain directions, on moral conduct. But these are far more than counterbalanced by its pernicious effects. *A system based on fraud and injustice must, on the whole, bear evil fruit.* The opinions of competent witnesses will be given on this point.

Mr. R. C. Dutt says, "The caste system threw an indelible stain on the criminal law of India."

Sir H. S. Maine, one of the ablest Europeans that ever came to India, in his *Ancient Law* describes caste as "*the most disastrous and blighting of human institutions.*"

The following are the heads of a lecture by Pandit Sivanath Sastri on Caste:—

(1) It has produced disunion and discord.
(2) It has made honest manual labour contemptible in this country.
(3) It has checked internal and external commerce.
(4) It has brought on physical degeneracy by confining marriage within narrow circles.
(5) It has been a source of conservatism in everything.
(6) It has suppressed the development of individuality and independence of character.
(7) It has helped in developing other injurious customs, such as early marriage, the charging of heavy matrimonial fees, &c.
(8) It has successfully restrained the growth and development of national worth; whilst allowing opportunity of mental and spiritual culture only to a limited number of privileged people, it has denied these opportunities to the majority of the lower classes, consequently it has made the country negatively a loser.
(9) It has made the country fit for foreign slavery by previously enslaving the people by the most abject spiritual tyranny.

Dr. Bhandarkar says: "The caste system is at the root of the political slavery of India."

Principal Caird says of caste:

"Instead of breaking down artificial barriers, waging war with false separations, softening divisions and undermining class hatreds and antipathies, religion becomes itself the very consecration of them."

For untold generations useful and hard-working classes have been deprived of their rights, treated with injustice and scorn by those for whom they toiled. Some of their wrongs have been rectified by the intervention of the British Government; but what is wanted is an acknowledgment of the *Brotherhood of Man.*

What a glorious change it would be if the people of India regarded each other as brethren, dealing justly with each other,

bearing one another's burdens, and seeking to aid and comfort one another in the manifold trials of life!

PAST. 14. PRESENT.

Despotism. **Government by Law.**

India, for three thousand years, had its village republics, but its former Governments were pure despotisms.

Bholanath Chunder says of the oriental mind: "It has never known nor attempted to know any other form of Government except despotism."*

"Neither the Code of Manu nor the Code of Mahomet grants directly to the people any power as of right to have a voice in the affairs of a king. He is understood to be responsible for his actions, not to his people, but to the Creator." The king was supposed to be above all law. "The mighty can do no wrong," is a well-known saying.

The English have Representative Government themselves, and they wish every part of the British Empire to have it where the people are sufficiently enlightened.

Education is the necessary preparatory step. For this purpose schools and colleges, suited to all classes, have been established in India.

Municipalities have been fostered, partly as a training for self-government on a larger scale.

The East India Company was at first a purely commercial body. With the extension of territory, the Governor-General in Council was empowered to issue "Regulations," subject to home approval.

The first addition to the Governor-General's Council was the appointment of a Law Member in 1834, while Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General. The office was first held by Macaulay. This led to the preparation of Codes of Law, and other beneficial measures.

In 1861 the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governments of Madras and Bombay and of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal were enlarged, for legislative purposes, by additional members, chosen by Government, one-half of whom were to be non-official. In 1892, further changes were made. Certain members were allowed to be elected by municipalities, the chambers of commerce, landholders, and the universities. The right of interpellation was also conceded.

A Legislative Council was granted in 1892 to the North-West Provinces, followed in 1897 by Councils for the Punjab and Burma.

* *Travels of a Hindu*, Vol. II, p. 408.

In course of time the number of elected members will gradually be increased.

Independently of Legislative Councils, Indian public opinion can now make its voice heard through the Indian press, public meetings, and the National Congress. Any wise suggestions, especially in temperate language, will receive attentive consideration, and may do much to modify, in some cases, the policy of Government. Even in England, Parliament, is, to a large extent, merely the executive of public opinion.

An Indian prince looked upon his kingdom as his private estate, from which he was at liberty to exact the greatest income and spend it as he pleased. He could personally take away the life, liberty, or property of any of his subjects.

Even although the sovereign himself might be just and mild, he could not communicate his nature to the officers under him. His delegated authority was often cruelly abused. Old travellers tell of barbarous acts committed in their presence. The following is an example:

"The Governor of Ahmedabad, about the year 1640, had invited the principal directors of the English and Dutch trades to an entertainment, of which, as usual, displays of dancing-girls were among the chief features. One party having danced themselves out, another was sent for, but for some reason they refused to come. They were then forcibly dragged into the presence of the Governor. He listened to their excuse, 'laughed at it, but immediately commanded a party of his guard to strike off their heads. They begged their lives with horrid cries and lamentations; but he would be obeyed, and caused the execution to be done in the room before all the company. Not one then present dared to make the least intercession for those wretches, who were eight in number. The strangers were startled at the horror of the spectacle and inhumanity of the action, which the Governor taking notice of, fell a laughing, and asked them what they were so much startled at.'

"There is no longer any power in the state, that can order, under the influence of a gust of passion, even the meanest labourer to be trampled to death by elephants or disembowelled with a sharp knife. The poorest cooly is entitled to all the solemn formalities of a judicial trial, and the punishment of death, by whomsoever administered, and on whomsoever inflicted, without the express decree of the law, is a murder for which the highest officer of Government is as much accountable as a sweeper would be for the assassination of the Governor-General in durbar." *Kaye.*

Both Hindus and Muhammadans have great bodies of law, some of them of high antiquity. Simple codes were needed, adapted to modern times. Lord Cornwallis began in 1793 the issue of a series of laws, known as "Regulations." Since 1833, these have been called "Acts." In the same year a legal member of Council was appointed to aid in preparing a body of law for

British India. This work fell chiefly upon Lord Macaulay, and the Penal Code was drafted by him while he was in India between 1834 and 1838. It was revised from time to time by eminent lawyers, but it was not till 1860, that it became law. It was followed in 1861 by the Code of Criminal Procedure. A Code of Civil Procedure was also enacted.

Sir Henry Maine says: "British India is now in possession of a set of Codes which approach the highest standard of excellence which this species of legislation has reached. In form, intelligibility, and in comprehensiveness, the Indian Codes stand against all competition."

IV. EDUCATIONAL AND LITERARY PROGRESS.

PAST. 15. PRESENT.

Education confined to a few. **Education open to all.**

One of the greatest blessings which the British Government has conferred upon India is its system of popular education. Sir William Hunter says:

"Great as has been the material progress of India during the past century, its emancipation, so far from ignorance, forms a far more splendid memorial of British rule. Truly the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light."

The remarks of Macaulay, with regard to Europe in the Middle Ages, apply with still greater force to ancient India: "We see the multitudes sunk in brutal ignorance, while the studious few are engaged in acquiring what did not deserve the name of knowledge." The "nine gems" at the court of Vikramáditya were only like a few stars in the dark night.

In ancient times Brahmans sought to confine learning to themselves. They had schools scattered over India in which Sanskrit was taught. The instruction was oral: it was said that knowledge gained through books was worthless. The memory was chiefly exercised. The study of Pánini's Grammar occupied about 12 years. In the towns there were schools where the sons of shopkeepers learned to write and keep accounts.

Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrassa, or Muhammadan College, in 1781, which was followed in 1792 by the Sanskrit College, Benares. The Poona College was founded in 1821. On the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, a clause was inserted requiring not less than a lakh of rupees to be spent every year in the diffusion of knowledge. It was not, however, till 1823 that a General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed in Bengal. In 1826 Sir Thomas Munro established a similar Board for Madras.

The Despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 marks an important epoch in Indian education. Complete Educational Departments were to be organised, and a National System to be commenced. In 1857, amid the tumult of the Mutiny, the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were founded, to which the Punjab University was added in 1882, and the Allahabad University in 1887.

A net-work of schools has been extended over the whole country, rising gradually from indigenous schools to the highest Colleges. Besides Arts Colleges, there are Medical, Engineering, and Law Colleges, a College of Science, Schools of Art; a Forest School, &c.

Above all, a commencement has been made in female education, although the number under instruction is still lamentably small.

Sir W. Hunter thus contrasts ancient and modern education in India:—

"In the last century, education in India was a monopoly in the hands of the priests,—a power which they employed to subjugate the minds of the people. Under British rule, education in India has been taken entirely out of the hands of the priests, and it has become the great emancipator of the Indian races. In ancient India a Brahman was forbidden, on pain of death, to teach the sacred books to the masses. Under British rule, the State schools offer instruction to every one, and open the same careers to all. In the last century the Hindus were taught, from their earliest childhood, that they must remain imprisoned for life in the caste in which they were born. We have now (four) millions of boys and girls receiving public instruction in India. These four millions of native children are learning that every occupation, and every profession in British India is open to every boy on the benches of an Indian school."*

PAST.	16.	PRESENT.
Sanskrit.		**English.**

One of the most momentous changes in India was the substitution of English for Sanskrit in Government Colleges.

Until 1835, the Bengal Committee of Public Instruction was mainly in the hands of orientalists, the study of Sanskrit and Arabic receiving special attention. "The medium of instruction," says Macaulay, "was oriental, the whole scope of the instruction was oriental, designed to conciliate old prejudices, and to propagate old ideas."

Intelligent Hindus felt the need of an education better adapted to the wants of the nineteenth century. In 1816 the Hindu College was established in Calcutta, largely through

*England's Work in India, pp 42, 43.

the efforts of David Hare, a watchmaker. The studies included the works of Locke, Adam Smith, Shakespere, Milton, and other writers.

Dr. Duff's Institution in Calcutta, commenced in 1830, gave a great impulse to the study of English. His views were held by the late Lord Macaulay and Sir Charles Trevelyan. Soon afterwards, Lord William Bentinck issued the following order:

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the Natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone."

Macaulay subsequently explained that the General Committee, in "advocating English as to the best medium of instruction, had in view those classes only of the community who had means and leisure for obtaining a thorough education." "When the object is merely an elementary education, it may be most easily imparted to the natives in their own language."

In several respects the Sanskrit language has high claims to our admiration. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, "To the Sanskrit the antiquity and extent of its literary documents, the transparency of its grammatical structure, the comparatively primitive state of its accent system, and the thorough grammatical treatment it has early received at the hand of native scholars, must ever secure the foremost place in the comparative study of Indo-Germanic speech."

The beauty of a language is not, however, the most important consideration. Sir H. S. Maine said in a Convocation Address:

"The merely literary form in which knowledge is conveyed is in itself a small matter, and getting to be of less importance every day; the one essential consideration is the genuineness of the knowledge itself—the question whether it is a reality or a pretence."

In the opinion of Sir H. S. Maine, works in Sanskrit contain "false morality, false history, false philosophy, and false physics." The more a person reads of them, the more is his head filled with false ideas.

Take the Pandits, fed from their childhood on Sanskrit. As a rule, they are the most bigoted portion of the community, most narrow-minded, and opposed to all reform. The tree may be judged of by its fruits.

It may be said that a knowledge of Sanskrit is essential to be able to write the vernaculars correctly. *Practically*, it has often had an opposite effect, leading to a pedantic Sanskritized style. Men who have learned a little Sanskrit, but are ignorant of the laws of language, look upon Tadbhavas as corruptions, and wish

to change them into Tatsamas. Beames says of some compositions, that they are bad Sanskrit instead of good Bengali.

Sir H. S. Maine adopted the view of Sanskrit *versus* English, taken by Macaulay in his celebrated "Minute":

"How, then, stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said, that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

"The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, Medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier,—Astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school,—History, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long,—and Geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Every Indian ought to be able to read and write his own vernacular. Next to it a knowledge of English will be far more

important than a knowledge of Sanskrit. In Sanskrit schools generally only a worthless smattering is acquired. Graduates should have some knowledge of Sanskrit, and a few thorough Sanskrit scholars are required, like Dr. Bhandarkar, to investigate Indian history and philosophy. All educated Indians should have some knowledge of the Vedas, Upanishads, &c., but it can be gained by availing themselves of the labours of oriental scholars.

Sir H. S. Maine says in one of his University addresses:

"The real affinities of the people are with Europe and the future, not with India and the Past."

With regard to the Past he says:

"On the educated Native of India the Past presses with too awful and terrible a power for it to be safe for him to play or palter with it. The clouds which overshadow his household, the doubts which beset his mind, the impotence of progressive advance which he struggles against, are all parts of an inheritance of nearly unmixed evil which he has received from the Past."

PAST. 17. PRESENT.

False Science. **True Science.**

This applies mainly to what is called *Physical Science*. In grammar the Hindus surpassed all other nations of antiquity, and they made great progress in mathematics. Their logic also deserves praise, but in other respects their science largely consisted of wild baseless speculations. Mr. R. C. Bose gives the following illustrations:

"The Hindu geographer does not travel, does not explore, does not survey; he simply sits down and dreams of a central mountain of a height greater than that of the sun, moon, and stars, and circular oceans of curds and clarified butter. The Hindu historian does not examine documents, coins, and monuments, does not investigate historical facts, weigh evidence, balance probabilities, scatter the chaff to the winds and gather the wheat in his garner: he simply sits down and dreams of a monster monkey who flies through the atmosphere with huge mountains resting on the hairs of his body, and constructs thereby a durable bridge across an arm of an interminable ocean. The Hindu biographer ignores the separating line between history and fable, invents prodigious and fantastic stories, and converts even historical personages into mythical or fabulous heroes. The Hindu anatomist does not dissect, does not anatomize, does not examine the contents of the human body; he simply dreams of component parts which have no existence, multiplies almost indefinitely the number of arteries and veins, and speaks coolly of a passage through which the atomic soul effects its ingress and egress."

"The Hindu metaphysician does not analyze the facts of consciousness or enquire into the laws of thought, does not classify sensations,

perceptions, conceptions, and judgments and cautiously proceed to an investigation of the principles which regulate the elaboration of thought and processes of reasoning;—he simply speaks of the mind as an accidental and mischievous adjunct of the soul, and shows how its complete extinction may be brought about by austerity and meditation."*

"The country has had enough of poetic and speculative intellect, and what it needs now to enable it to march alongside of the foremost nations of the world is a little of that cast of mind which may be called *scientific*."†

Every boy attending an English school knows that there is no rock Meru in the centre of the earth, that there are no seven circular oceans of sugar-cane-juice, wine, ghee, milk, &c. The more intelligent know that eclipses are not caused by Ráhu and Ketu. Instead of accepting, on the authority of the Upanishads, that a hundred arteries proceed from the heart, students in Medical Colleges dissect the human body.

Professor Bose shows what the Indian intellect can accomplish, if wisely directed. By careful observation and experiment, he has attained such eminence, that he has been received with respect by European scientists.

PAST.	18.	PRESENT.
The Pen.		**The Printing Press.**

Formerly books could be multiplied only by the slow and expensive process of copying. It has also been mentioned that the Brahmans sought, as far as possible, to make their instruction oral. The idea was given that knowledge derived from books was worthless.

The Chinese have had printing from wooden blocks for several centuries. The art of printing from moveable types was invented in Europe about the middle of the 15th century. Vasco da Gama, who landed at Calicut in 1498, was followed by Portuguese Missionaries. Fra. Bartolomeo says:—

"The first book printed in this country (India) was the *Doctrina Christiana*, by Giovanni Gonsalves, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, so far as I know, first cast Tamulic characters in the year 1577. After this appeared in 1578, a book entitled *Flos Sanctorum*."‡

The first Tamil types cast in Europe seem to have been at Amsterdam in 1678, to express the names of some plants.

The oldest specimen of printing in Bengali is Halhed's Grammar, printed at Hoogly in 1778. The types were prepared

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* *Heterodox Philosophy*, p. 7. † *Ibid*, pp. 8-10.
‡ *Voyage to the East Indies*. Translated by Johnstone, 1706.

by the hands of Sir C. Wilkins. He instructed a blacksmith, named Panchaman, in type-cutting, and all the Bengali knowledge of the process was derived from him.

The Statement of Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the year 1900-01, gives the Publications registered in each Province as follows:—

Bengal	... 2,590
United Provinces	... 1,565
Punjab	... 1,301
Bombay	... 1,158
Madras	... 1,221
Assam	... 28
Central Provinces	... 30
	7,893

The total number of copies printed must amount to several millions.

PAST. 19. PRESENT.

Ignorance of the outside world. **Newspapers.**

Invasions at different periods made the existence of Mlechhas beyond the boundaries of Aryavarta disagreeably felt; but there was no desire under Brahmanical rule to become acquainted with what was transpiring in the regions beyond.

The late Rev. George Brown, an American Missionary, says:

"Is it no blessing that the Hindu of to-day has a much grander and better world to look out upon, than his father had? The whole world, to his fathers, was Mlechha, defiled, barbarous, beyond the pale of intercourse, abhorred even by the Gods who reserved their incarnations and revelations and manifold favours for the people of this country. Now, the educated Hindu thinks it a privilege to visit the Occident and become acquainted with the marvels of civilization and art. Once the sympathies of the Hindu were cabined, cribbed, confined, shrivelled up to the confines of his own caste; now what is to hinder their expansion to the ends of the earth, and the comprehension of all nations in his fellow-feeling?"

Hicky's Gazette, which appeared in Calcutta in 1780, was the first newspaper published in India. The first vernacular periodical was commenced in 1822 by the Serampore Missionaries. When Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1835, abolished the Press Regulations, "there were only six native papers," says Sir Roper Lethbridge, "and these in no way political."

Luker's *Indian Press Guide* for 1885 gives the numbers of Newspapers and Periodicals published in India as follows: English 175; Bilingual 57; Bengali 21; Burman 1; Canarese 3; French 1; Gujárati 31; Hindi 15; Malayalam 4; Marathi 17; Oriya 3;

Punjabi 1; Persian 1; Portuguese 1; Sanskrit 1; Tamil 10; Telugu 3; Urdu or Hindustani 102; total 448.

Thacker's *Indian Directory* for 1901, contains a list of 575 Newspapers and Periodicals.

PAST. 20. PRESENT.

Letters sent by private persons.

A cheap and efficient Postal System.

If a son is away from home, his parents wish to hear how he is, and he will wish to know about his parents. One or the other may have important news; a son or father may be dangerously ill, and the presence of the one or the other required. Under former rule either a special messenger had to be sent or a letter was given to a friend going in that direction. There would thus be expense, loss of time, and uncertainty of a letter reaching its destination. The great advantages of the present postal system are thus apparent.

The word *post* comes from the Latin, *positus*, 'placed.' In the Roman Empire along the roads there were posts or stages, where couriers were maintained to carry Government letters. In the ancient Persian Empire swift camels were employed. In these cases the posts seem to have been set up for government service only.

In England, in early times, both public and private letters were sent only by special messengers or friends. The first regular inland post was commenced under Charles I., in 1635. In 1710 a general post office for the three kingdoms was established. Till 1840 the postal charges were high, varying according to the distance. A letter to any place not exceeding 15 miles distant, was charged 4*d.*, now equal to 4 annas. Under 300 miles, the charge was 12*d.* Rowland Hill, in 1837, advocated a uniform penny postage, and, after much opposition, it was adopted in 1840. Letters below 4 oz. can now be sent in England for a penny.

Postal rates in India, till 1854, varied with the distance and were high. In 1854-5 uniform postage was introduced, and the rate, ½ anna, was the lowest in the world. In 1879-80 post cards, at ½ anna, were issued. Money Orders were commenced in 1862-63. In 1882-83 Post Office Banks were instituted. Value Payable Packets were afterwards introduced, and packets of Quinine are sold at many post offices.

In 1854-5 there were 645 Post Offices in India, and the mails were conveyed over 30,594 miles. In 1901 there were 11,306 Post Offices, and the mails were conveyed over 131,621 miles.

The following statement shows the increase of letters, newspapers and book-packets passing through the Indian Post Offices during the last forty years.

	Letters and Post Cards.	Newspapers.	Book-Packets.
1870-71	77,303,074	6,565,323	1,127,189
1880-81	143,538,106	11,942,304	2,105,503
1890-91	280,740,412	24,935,368	10,375,319
1900-01	469,209,482	32,091,400	28,202,751

The progress made is truly remarkable, showing the spread of education and the increased intelligence of the people.

Sir W. Hunter has the following remarks under this head, and considerable progress has been made since they were written:—

"The result (of education) has been a revival of letters such as the world has never seen. On the 31st March, 1818, the Serampur missionaries issued the first newspaper ever printed in a native language of India. The Vernacular journals now exceed 230 in number, and are devoured every week by half a million readers. In 1878, 5,000 books were published in India, besides a vast importation of literature from England. Of this mass of printed matter, only 500 were translations, the remaining 4,500 being original works. The Indian intellect is marching forth in many directions, rejoicing in its new strength. More copies of books of poetry, philosophy, law, and religion issue every year from the press of British India, than the whole manuscripts compiled during any century of native rule."

WHAT THE ENGLISH HAVE DONE FOR INDIA.

The following short summary is from *The Times*:

"We found India a mass of all Oriental abuses, open to invasion from without, scourged by incessant civil wars within, divided into a multitude of weak States with shifting boundaries and evanescent dynasties. Creed fought with creed and race with race. Corruption, oppression, and cruelty were rampant upon all sides, and they had borne their evil harvest. Pestilence and famine devastated the land at brief intervals with a thoroughness which it is not easy in these days to conceive. Life and property were everywhere insecure; and, while misgovernment weighed heavily upon all classes, it bore, as it always does bear, with the most crushing weight upon the poor and the ignorant. We have given India for the first time in her annals security from foreign enemies, for the first time we have established and maintained peace and order within her frontiers. All sorts and conditions of men, from the great feudatories of the Imperial Crown to the peasant and

the outcast, hold and enjoy their rights under the inviolable provisions of a just and intelligent system of law. The hatreds and prejudices of hostile peoples and of conflicting religions are curbed by a strong and impartial administration. A humane, enlightened, and absolutely pure system of government has succeeded to the supreme power once grossly misused by generations of native despots; and if those who direct it spend their energies and their health, and not infrequently their lives, in the service of the Indian peoples, they have at least the supreme gratification of seeing around them the work of their hands." *October* 30, 1897.

Sir Madhava Row's opinion of British Rule in India has been quoted. To it may be added that of the late V. Ramiengar, Dewan of Travancore:

"We live under the mildest, the most enlightened, and the most powerful of modern Governments; we enjoy in a high degree the rights of personal security and personal liberty, and the right of private property; the dwelling of the humblest and meanest subject may be said to be now as much his castle as that of the proud Englishman is his, in his native land; no man is any longer, by reason of his wealth or of his rank, so high as to be above the reach of the law, and none, on the other hand, is so poor and insignificant as to be beyond its protection. In less than a short century, anarchy and confusion have been replaced by order and good government, as if by the wand of a magician, and the country has started on a career of intellectual, moral, and material advancement, of which nobody can foresee the end. Whatever may be the shortcomings of Government, (and perfection is not vouchsafed to human institutions and human efforts) in the unselfish and sincere desire which animates them to promote the welfare of the millions committed to their care, in the high view they take of their obligations and responsibilities as Rulers, in the desire they show at all times to study the feelings and sentiments of the people and carry them along with them in all important measures, and in the spirit of benevolence which underlies all their actions, the British Indian Government stands without an equal."

It is admitted that much yet remains to be done.

Sir John Strachey, in *Finances and Public Works of India*, makes the following acknowledgment:

"It is not pretended that, unlike any other country, the social, material, and political conditions of India now leave no room for improvement. Defects of many sorts can readily be pointed out. But it is through the very progress that these become known. In the arts of administration, as in all other applications of knowledge, our views, widen with each successive step we take; and the emphatic recognition that much yet remains to be done for the people of India neither dims the lustre of what has been accomplished, nor should cool the ardour of those who there continue the strife with human misfortune, weakness, or ignorance." p. 12.

Why the English should remain in India.

Three reasons may be mentioned.

1. **To maintain Peace.**—The English can act impartially towards Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs, and all the nationalities of India. Peace is thus preserved. If the English left, there would be an immediate struggle on the part of Muhammadans to regain their supremacy, and Indian fields would again be drenched with blood. But probably the Russians would step in, and the people would find the Italian proverb realized, "Out of the smoke into the fire."

2. **To develop the Resources of India.**—Of this there is greater need than ever before. Formerly the population of India was kept down by war, famine, and pestilence. These checks have been, more or less, removed, and every year, under favourable circumstances, there are two million more mouths to feed.

Countries peopled by Englishmen and their descendants are the richest in the world; as England herself, the United States, and Australia. Wherever they go, by their intelligence and industry they develop the resources of a country. Already they have done much for India, and they will yet do more.

As an example of what has been done in India, it may be mentioned that from 436,035 acres, formerly unproductive jungle, Europeans raise coffee and tea to the value of 10 crores a year, affording employment to about a lakh of landless labourers and their families.

Although Europeans, from their superior knowledge and energy, commence new industries, in course of time they are taken up by the people themselves. This is remarkably the case with cotton mills, started by Europeans. Only lately Mr. Tata, a Bombay mill-owner, was able to offer thirty lakhs to establish a Research Institute.

It is through Europeans that ryots receive about 28 crores a year for jute and oil-seeds.

India has yet stores of latent wealth, which European knowledge and skill would do much to bring to light.

One of the most pernicious economic errors current in India is that English merchants "drain the country of its wealth," and get all the profit. The very different testimony of the Hon. Mr. Ranade will afterwards be quoted. Meanwhile the view expressed by Mr. J. E. O'Conor, late Director-General of Statistics, "in a very able and suggestive article" may be mentioned.

Referring to the Sugar industry, he says that "owing to want of capital the industry is carried on in the premature and wasteful manner characteristic of Indian industrial operations generally."

Turning to oil-seeds, Mr. O'Conor asks why these seeds are not treated in India, where the business could be conducted more cheaply than in Europe or in the United States? "The answer to these questions is that there is no capital to be found for the opening of an entirely new business, which must necessarily be of very large dimension to ensure the economy, skill in manufacture and wide opening up of markets required to achieve profitable results."

On the tanning industry, which has already been considerably ruined, Mr. O'Conor says that the natural advantages of India "were not effectively utilised in consequence of the absence of capital, for tanning is essentially an industry in which the possession of large resources counts for much."

With regard to tobacco, Mr. O'Conor says, "To say that it (the trade in tobacco) may increase tenfold is to use most moderate language." Mr. O'Conor asks why the supply of cigars and cigarettes should be allowed to come from abroad, and why they should not be made in India from Indian tobacco? "Here again the answer is to be found in the absence of capital. If that were forthcoming and the skill, the combination and the organization which accompany it, a great transformation would soon be worked in India. She would supply many of her own needs and would also supply to consumers in the markets of the world many manufactured articles now made abroad from raw material obtained from India."*

It is through English merchants, that the capital will be forthcoming thus to develop the wealth of India. Their enterprise is also necessary.

3. **To Elevate the people of India.**—Some progress has already been made. Millions can now read who would formerly have lived and died in ignorance; ideas of national life and progress are spreading, the public services have been largely purified, the moral tone has been raised; the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man are beginning to be acknowledged. But very much yet remains to be done.

On the above accounts, as well as others, it is desirable that British rule in India should continue.

* Quoted in *The Indian People*, May 8th, 1903.

PART II.

IS INDIA BECOMING RICHER OR POORER UNDER BRITISH RULE?

In a Budget speech, the Hon. Mr. Ananda Charlu mourned over the "frightful and growing poverty of India." This feeling is general, and there is equal unanimity on another point. Rao Bahadur Sabapathy Mudaliar of Bellary, said, "We all attribute the poverty of India to the mismanagement of our rulers."

As already mentioned, Indian ideas of the past are derived from imagination and poetry. Hence the supposed "halcyon days of Hindu sovereignty," and the fabulous wealth of the people.

The answer to the question, whether India is Poorer or Richer under British Rule? seems to be briefly as follows:

The country, as a whole, is very much richer and is becoming wealthier; but there is an increasing number of people earning a precarious living as labourers, and, unless vigorous measures are adopted, things will get worse and worse.

PROOFS OF INCREASED WEALTH.

It seems scarcely possible for a sane man to affirm that India was wealthier while without roads and railways, suffering from dakoiti and thuggi, devastated by internal wars and foreign invasions than at present, with profound peace, great facilities for commerce, and a largely extended area under cultivation. Yet as this is the general Indian opinion, it may be well to recapitulate briefly the grounds to the contrary:

1. The Country no longer suffers from Invasions, Intestine Wars, and bands of Robbers.

Accounts have been given of the Afghan invasions, the Mahratta ravages, &c. As mentioned, 30,000 square miles of fertile frontier districts between Eastern Bengal and Assam lay waste. From 13,000 miles reclaimed, 18 millions sterling worth of produce is obtained.

Mr. T. N. Mukarji, writing to *The Indian Nation*, says:—

"The margin of cultivation has rapidly extended on all sides. Where formerly the roar of the tiger broke the stillness of the sleeping jungle, the busy hum can be heard of the multitude reaping the golden

harvest . . . A more careful cultivation has also enabled valuable crops to take the place of less valuable crops . . . Wheat is now grown on land which formerly yielded nothing but a poor crop of joar or bajra."

2. AGRICULTURE HAS BEEN PROMOTED BY SOME OF THE GRANDEST IRRIGATION WORKS IN THE WORLD.

The usual estimate is that irrigated land produces three times as much as unirrigated land. In 1901, as has been shown (see page 31), canals irrigated 15,104,520 acres, while the total area irrigated amounted to 30,056,000 acres, equal to 47,000 square miles.*

3. THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN COVERED WITH A NETWORK OF ROADS AND RAILWAYS.

The advantages of these to travellers will be admitted by all. It has been shown that railways are of great value in mitigating famines.

Roads and railways promote cultivation. Some parts of the Central Provinces are very fertile. The people are nearly all cultivators. They formerly raised so much grain that they did not know what to do with it. Nobody wanted it. They therefore sometimes let their cattle eat the ripened grain, lest it should rot on the ground. There were no roads, and a bulky article like grain can be carried only a short distance with any profit by oxen. A cart has a great advantage over pack oxen. A pair of bullocks will draw a load three times as heavy on a good road as on a bad one, reducing the cost to one-third. But railways are far superior even to the best roads. Salt and other articles are now cheaper in the interior than they were before, and farmers can get a better price for their produce.

Mr. T. N. Mukerji says in *The Indian Nation* :

"Railways are the wings of commerce, by the aid of which it reaches the most distant lands, scattering wealth and activity in its track. A generation ago, the peasants of the N. W. Province could hardly even dream that the *Munj* grass growing on the boundary ridges of their fields would be paid for in bright silver, taken hundreds of miles away to Bally, near Calcutta, and there made into paper. The *Bhâbar* grass, now vainly drying up in the Tarâi wastes, and the *Dâphne* bark, rotting in the lower slopes of the Himalayas, still wait for the railways."

4. THE GREAT INCREASE IN INDIAN COMMERCE.

A little consideration will show the fallacy of the opinion that this is only a proof of India's exhaustion. As already mentioned, a savage has nothing to sell, and nothing to buy. The

* *Thirty-sixth Statistical Abstract*, p. 121.

more a nation has to sell and the more it can afford to buy, the richer it is. Countries like England, the United States, and Australia have the greatest amount of commerce.

The foreign commerce of India has increased from 2 crores a year to 227 crores, now averaging Rs. 9-13-10 per head.

Mr. T. N. Mukerji says:

"The vast increase in our exports and imports, that has taken place of late years, signifies that our increased purchasing power is being utilized for the purchase of articles which we now consider necessary for the satisfaction of our wants. The increase in our purchasing power has taken place owing to the following reasons:—(1) The readiness other countries have expressed to exchange their goods for our goods; (2) The facilities afforded for this exchange by a settled government and by the improved means of intercommunication between different countries; (3) The increase in the quantity of our wealth by increased production; (4) The increase in the value of our wealth compared with foreign wealth and with which it is exchanged."

The following signs of increasing wealth may be mentioned:

1. The substitution of brass for earthenware utensils is one of the earliest evidences of improvement in the general condition of the people. The imports of copper, tin, and zinc, increased from 67 lakhs in 1874 to 228 lakhs in 1883.

2. The greater expenditure on articles which are luxuries rather than necessaries.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade said in his Poona address:—

"In 1888-89 we imported 41 lakhs worth of umbrellas, 15 lakhs worth of children's toys and games, 22 lakhs of stationery, 10 lakhs of soap, 10 lakhs of clocks, 20 lakhs of matches, 66 lakhs of glass, 41 lakhs worth of paper, 21½ lakhs of books, &c."

Between 1885 and 1896, glass manufactures rose from about 50 lakhs to 74 lakhs; books and paper from 66 lakhs to 98 lakhs; jewellery and precious stones from 31 lakhs to nearly 80 lakhs.

Mr. T. N. Mukerji has the following remarks on such imports:—

"Our wants have thus greatly increased, and we have to meet these wants by the sale of our produce. Increased wants, however, are a sign of increased prosperity. If we now feel a desire for better houses, better clothing and better food, and find ourselves more or less in a position to satisfy that desire, it must be assumed that we have greater means, *i.e.*, greater wealth at our command than formerly. One trifling instance may show that such is the fact, *viz.*, the disappearance of the country leaf-umbrella before the imported article. Similarly with regard to other necessaries and luxuries of life."

5. The large Import of the Precious Metals.

Mr. D. Naoroji said in England that the employment of a foreign agency disabled India from saving any capital at all. On the contrary, under a foreign agency she has since 1835 amassed gold and silver to the amount of 620 crores. India now contains a far greater amount of the precious metals than ever she had before.

6. The Employment of a large number of Goldsmiths.

The census of 1891 showed that the people of India supported an army of goldsmiths 400,000 strong. Estimating their average earnings at Rs. 6, per month, this gives an annual outlay of 288 lakhs. Does this show the growing poverty of the country?

7. The Increase in Savings Banks Deposits.

The statistics below refer only to *Government* Banks. Private Banks have also Indian depositors:

	1884-5	1900-1*
Number of Native Depositors, including Local Institutions	1,90,687	7,39,213
	Rs.	Rs.
Interest earned	11,67,565	25,78,236
Balance at end of year	3,51,93,828	8,93,09,708

It will be seen that in 16 years the number of Native Depositors increased from 193,687 to 739,213; the interest earned from about 11½ lakhs to 25 lakhs, and the deposits from 3½ crores to nearly 9 crores.*

8. The Disappearance of Cowries.

The usual currency of a people forms a good test of its comparative wealth. Until recently, the only currency of China consisted of copper coins, called cash, with a hole in the centre, through which they were strung. A Mexican dollar, equal to about two rupees, could be exchanged for from 1,000 to 1,200 cash. A few dollars' worth made a load for a cooly. This showed the general poverty of the people.

In India, under former rule, *cowries* were largely employed as money. In Bengal 3,000 were reckoned equal to a rupee. At the beginning of the century it was said of poor Bengalis, "They *think* in cowries." Tincowry (Three cowries) was a common name. Up till 1820 the revenue of Sylhet, then a district of Eastern Bengal, was paid in cowries, of which 70 crores had annually to be sent to Dacca.

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* *36th Statistical Abstract*, p. 91.

Cowries have now disappeared, showing that the general wealth of the country has increased.

9. Progress in Manufactures.

While manual labour cannot compete with steam, the latter is being employed in India with some measure of success. The late Mr. Justice Ranade may be regarded as a trustworthy witness. The following is extracted from his *Essays on Indian Economics*:

"I propose in this paper to bring together certain facts, chiefly based on Official Publications, which will, I hope, satisfy you that, on the whole, we have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the result, that the tendency towards rustication has been checked, and India, under British Rule, has been gathering up the forces, and marshalling them in order to ward off the evil efforts of the first surrender that it had to make by way of homage to British skill, capital, and enterprise.

"The chief features of this change may be thus described.

Firstly, our Exports of manufactured or partly manufactured goods, have risen from 5¼ crores to 16½ crores in the past fourteen years, 1879—1893, the increase being thus 211 per cent. in fourteen years. There is a steady annual increase of 15 per cent., with only two exceptional years during that whole period.

Secondly, our Exports of raw produce have also risen absolutely, but the relative rise is measured by the difference between 60 crores and 85½ crores, which means an increment of 42 per cent. in fourteen years, or an annual increment of 3 per cent. per year, against an annual increment of 15 per cent. in the export of manufactured produce.

Thirdly, the increase of manufactured articles imported into India has only been 30 per cent. in fourteen years, rising from 20 crores to 36 crores which gives an annual increment of 2 per cent. per year.

Fourthly, the increase in the imports of raw produce has been about a hundred per cent., rising from 13¾ crores to 26⅕ crores' worth in fourteen years. This gives an average increment of 6½ per cent.

The following Table sets forth the several points noted above in a very clear manner.

	1879.	1892.	Percentage Increased.	
			Total.	Annual.
	Rs.	Rs.		
Manufactured Imports ..	25,98,65,827	36,22,31,572	39	2·8
Raw Imports	13,75,55,837	26,38,18,481	91	6·5
Manufactured Exports ..	5,27,80,340	16,42,47,566	211	15
Raw Exports	59,67,27,091	85,62,09,499	45	3

Mr. Justice Ranade thus explains the satisfactory increase: "*The question naturally arises—how has this change for the better been brought about? It has been brought about solely and surely by the efforts of the Indian people, assisted to a large extent by the influx of British capital and enterprise.*" pp. 100, 103—105.

Contrast the above testimony to the value of English merchants in promoting the prosperity of the country with the rabid nonsense of a widely circulated Indian newspaper (see page 38).

10. India has been enriched by Public Buildings.

Under Muhammadan rule there were no suitable buildings as courts of justice. Sir William Hunter says:

"The police were an undisciplined half-starved soldiery who lived upon the people. The prisons were ruinous hovels, whose inmates had to be kept in stocks or fetters, or were held down flat under bamboos." "The English have had to build up, from the very foundations, the fabric of a civilised government. The material framework for such a government, its court houses, public buildings, barracks, jails, hospitals and schools, have cost not less than a hundred millions sterling."

Sir William Hunter imagines an Indian of the 18th century restored to life and wandering about the country:—

"He would see the country dotted with imposing edifices in a strange foreign architecture, of which he could not guess the uses. He would ask what wealthy prince had reared for himself that spacious palace? He would be answered that the building was no pleasure-house for the rich, but a hospital for the poor. He would inquire, in honour of what new deity is this splendid shrine? He would be told that it was no new temple to the gods, but a school for the people." p. 4.

11. Bombay and Calcutta are visible Proofs of the growing Wealth of India.

In 1661 the island of Bombay was occupied only by a few fishermen. It was so unprofitable that Charles II., to whom it belonged, sold it to English merchants for an annual payment of £10 in gold. It has now a population of 776,000; it is studded with magnificent buildings, and is the greatest commercial city in Asia.

Three clusters of mud huts on the banks of the Hugli, obtained in 1687, have been transformed into the "City of Palaces," with a population, including the suburbs, of upwards of a million.

House property in the Presidency cities, as a rule, belongs to Indians; Europeans have to pay rent.

Sir W. Hunter says: "There is more accumulated wealth held by natives in two cities of British India, Calcutta and Bombay, than all the treasures of the Imperial and local Courts under the Moghul Empire."

SIR WILLIAM HUNTER'S ESTIMATE OF THE CONDITION OF INDIA.

His opinion of the state of the people, quoted below, is probably fairly correct:

"Two-fifths of the people of British India enjoy a prosperity unknown under native rule; other two-fifths earn a fair but diminishing subsistence; but the remaining fifth, or 40 millions, go through life on insufficient food. It is these underfed 40 millions who form the problem of over-population in India."*

WHY FORTY MILLIONS ARE UNDERFED.

Sir W. W. Hunter has the following remarks:

"Such writers tell you that the people of India are very poor, therefore they conclude the Government is to blame. I also tell you that the people of India are very poor, because the population has increased at such a rate as to outstrip, in some parts, the food-producing powers of the land; because every square mile of Bengal has now to support three times as many families as it had to support a hundred years ago; because every square mile of British India, deducting the outlying provinces of Burma and Assam, has to feed nearly three times as many mouths as another square mile of the Native States." p. 127.

"The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India. The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil. Now that the sword is no longer permitted to do its old work, they must submit to prudential restraints on marriage, or they must suffer hunger. Such restraints have been imperative upon races of small cultivators since the days when Plato wrote his *Republic*."

From the increased population, the cultivated area no longer suffices to allow a plot of ground for every peasant, and great numbers now earn a poor and precarious subsistence as hired labourers. In ordinary seasons they can get employment and manage to live; but if the rains fail, the ryots cannot give them work, and, unless it is provided for them, they must starve.

France is a fertile country, but the population is only about 180 to the square mile. There are districts in India with 800 to the square mile.

At the census of 1891, the population to the square mile of some districts was as follows:

Dacca, 865.	Patna, 952.
Furreedpore, 792.	Darbhangah, 903.
Hooghly, 880.	Sarun, 930.

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 79, 80.

As Sir William Hunter remarks : —

"If we allow four persons to each peasant family, we find 24 millions of human beings struggling to live off the produce of 15 million acres, just over half an acre apiece. The Indian soil cannot support that struggle."

It is not the RYOTS, as a rule, who perish during famines. With or without the aid of money-lenders, they can tide over one or two bad years. It is the LANDLESS LABOURERS who are the sufferers.

The early statistics of India are not so complete as the later ones. The figures given are as follows :

1871	"Labourers"	8,174,000
1881	"Labourers and others (branch of labourers undefined)" ..	12,472,697
1891	"Earthwork and general labour"	25,468,078

Of the 25,468,017, *Urban* are given as 2,666,241; *Rural*, 22,801,777. It is these 23 millions, who form the "White Man's Burden" in India. *Want of rain* produces a FAMINE OF WORK.

The Number of Landless Labourers increased by the Humane Famine Policy of the British Government.

Sir W. Hunter thus describes the past condition of things in famines:

"Famine is now recognized as one of the most difficult problems with which the Indian administration has to deal. A hundred years ago it was regarded, not as a problem of administration, but as a visitation of God, utterly beyond the control of man. When the rains on which the crops depended fell short, no crops were reared, and the people perished. The earth had yielded no food, and so the people, in the ordinary and legitimate course of things, died."

In defence it may be said that, under the circumstances, relief was impossible. Before British rule, the country was without roads. Goods were conveyed by pack oxen or rude carts. Carriage by pack oxen is exceedingly expensive; even by cart it is high. When famine prevails over a wide range, pack oxen and carts become almost useless. The oxen require water and fodder, which cannot be supplied in famine districts. During the famine of 1877-78, Mysore lost one-fourth of its population. "Grain was poured into Bangalore by the Madras Railway; but the means for bringing the food to the hungry mouths were inadequate." A system of Railways was required.

This policy had two great advantages :—

1. *The pressure on the soil was relieved.*—At every severe famine millions of landless labourers were carried off, lessening the strain. The survivors benefited.

2. *The danger of pauperising the people was prevented.*—The sufferers had to exert their utmost to find a living for themselves, instead of resorting at once to relief works.

During the late famine the British Government, at very great expense, preserved the lives of five or six millions of landless labourers; but instead of relieving the pressure by that number, it has added to it that of them and their descendants to be maintained during the next famine.

Lord Curzon has pointed out the danger of pauperising the people through the British Famine policy. Unless very carefully guarded, the landless labourers will flock by millions to relief works, to the prejudice of local demands, as well as increasing the outlay.

Instead of a stigma being attached to relief work in North India, the term *Sirkar Nowkeri*, 'government employ,' has been invented.

Mr. C. M. Mullaly, of the Madras Civil Service, thus describes the revolution which has taken place:—

"With the growth of population, the construction of railways, spread of general knowledge, and other causes, a great but slow revolution seems to be in progress in the agricultural system of the country. Formerly, the ryot with his cultivating labourers was the agricultural unit. The labourers were attached to the soil, and looked to their masters for support in good and bad seasons. Communications were defective, money transactions few, and the excess crop of a good year was stored up to meet the probable deficiencies of the next. Prices were entirely local, and the bond of self-interest kept the ryot and his labourers together."

"With profound peace, with an organised system of famine relief, and with hospitals and other sanitary agencies, the three positive checks on population have to a great extent become inoperative, and consequently there is a steady growth in population. The ryot has now no anxiety about securing labourers, and therefore no necessity to maintain them in hard times, and he has less inducement to do so, now that he knows that Government will maintain those in want. He employs large numbers at the time of sowing and harvest and then dispenses with their services. On the failure, therefore, of a single monsoon, all these labourers who, in former times, would naturally look to and be maintained by their masters, are now thrown adrift without any means, and they raise a clamour for State relief and works. Their social customs and thriftlessness are creating an enormous mass of humanity with the most precarious means of [illegible], which the vicissitude of a single season may plunge into actu[illegible]rvation. This is the economic problem we have to face. These people have no resisting power and are really in a worse condition than in the old days when they were attached to the soil."*

* *Madras Mail*, August 16th, 1901.

Under the subject, **Is India Richer or Poorer?** some remarks may be made on important controverted questions.

INCIDENCE OF TAXATION.

According to a Resolution, "unanimously and with considerable enthusiasm," adopted by Indians, the 'product' of forty years' University education, India is suffering from an "unceasing and ever-increasing bleeding of the country."

Mr. J. S. Cotton, brother of Sir H. J. S. Cotton, author of *New India*, carefully reviewed the condition of India during the ten years ending in 1882-83, and analysed the taxation. The following is a summary.

During 1882-83 the gross revenue raised in India was Rs. 692,932,410. This, however, gives a very erroneous idea of the actual weight of taxation. Railway and other productive Public Works yielded Rs. 122,241,000, the Post Office and Telegraph gave Rs. 17,089,940. Neither railway fares nor postage can be considered taxes. Opium realised Rs. 94,995,940, but this was nearly all paid by the Chinese. Native States contributed for military charges, &c., Rs. 6,899,450.

Mr. Cotton gives the following estimate of the amount of taxation actually falling upon the people per head :—

	Total.	Per Head.					
	£	£	*s.*	*d.*	R.	A.	P.
Salt ...	6,123,984	0	0	7·4	0	4	11
Stamps ...	3,343,048	0	0	4	0	2	8
Excise ...	3,569,779	0	0	4·3	0	2	10
Provincial ...	2,666,437	0	0	3·2	0	2	1
Customs ...	1,243,927	0	0	1·5	0	1	0
Assessed Taxes ...	496,836	0	0	0·6	0	0	7
Registration ...	284,143	0	0	0·4	0	0	3
Land Revenue ...	21,784,576	0	2	2·3	1	1	6
Total ..	35,512,531	0	3	11·7	1	15	10

"These figures include every form of taxation, imperial, provincial, and local, excepting only municipal taxation." The average amount of taxation per head is Rs. 2 a year, or 2 as. 8 p. (4*d.*) per month. If an agricultural labourer does not go to law nor use intoxicants, the only imperative tax which he has to pay is 5 annas a year for salt. "He is no doubt a very poor man, but his poverty can scarcely be said to be grievously enhanced by the exactions of the State."

What does an Indian get for 2 as. 8 p. in taxes? The late Archbishop Whately, writing for home, thus explains it:—

"Many are apt to think taxes quite a different expense from all others, and either do not know, or else forget, that they receive any thing in *exchange* for the taxes.....Were it not for this, you could be employed scarcely half your time in providing food and clothing, and the other half would be taken up in guarding against being robbed of them; or in working for some other man whom you would hire to keep watch and fight for you. This would cost you much more than you pay in taxes; and yet you may see, by the example of savage nations, how very imperfect that protection would be."

There is no civilised country in the world where the incidence of taxation is less per head than in India. Sir James Caird, in a letter to *The Times*, in reply to the writer of "Bleeding to Death," says:—

"India is not expensively governed.....Compared with other countries the government expenditure of India per head of the population is 1-24th that of France, 1-13th that of Italy, 1-12th that of England, and 1-6th that of Russia." Jan. 31st, 1883.

Mr. D. Naoroji objects that the Indian rate of taxation presses more heavily in proportion than the English rate. Sir W. W. Hunter states the difficulty:

"THE MAINTENANCE OF A GOVERNMENT ON EUROPEAN STANDARDS OF EFFICIENCY FROM AN ASIATIC SCALE OF REVENUE."

"The truth is, that we have suddenly applied our English ideas of what a good Government should do, to an Asiatic country, where the people pay not one-tenth per head of the English rate of taxation. It is easy to govern efficiently at a cost of forty shillings per head as in England; but the problem in India is how to attain the same standard of efficiency at a cost of 3*s*. 8*d*. a head."*

If, following Native example, the British Government spent nothing on roads, bridges and schools, while judges and police were left to subsist by bribery and unjust exactions, the rate of taxation might be reduced: but this will scarcely be advocated.

SUGGESTED INQUIRY INTO THE EXACT INCIDENCE OF THE LAND TAX: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE.

This is the burning question in India. The most conflicting ideas are entertained on the subject. The general impression is that the assessment is too heavy, and is continually increased.

*England's *Work in India*, pp. 116.

In opposition to this, Sir H. S. Cunningham, a member of the first Famine Commission, says :—

"An idea has prevailed that the land revenue is a heavier burthen at present than it was forty years ago. A more careful examination, however, has shown that the increase from £12,480,000 in 1840 to £22,830,000 in 1879 is owing partly to the addition of 36 millions of people or 25 per cent. and 242,000 miles of territory, with a land-revenue of more than 6 millions, partly to an increase of 50 to 100 per cent. in the area of cultivation, partly to the increase to the price of agricultural produce, and in no instance to the enlargement of the share claimed by Government in the profits of the soil. In Madras, for instance, the area assessed has increased from 9¾ millions of acres in 1850 to 20 millions in 1875-6, and though the land revenue is a million sterling higher, its incidence per acre is reduced by 3 as. on dry land and Rs. 2½ on irrigated land, as the following Table shows :—

	Assessed Area.	Land Rev.	Average. Rate of Asst. per Acre. On Dry Land.			On Irrigated Land.		
	Acres.	Rx.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1852—3 ...	9,780,000 ...	2,502,000 ...	1	3	11	7	0	11
1875—6 ...	20,621,000 ...	3,426,000 ...	1	0	11	4	8	11

"Similarly in Bombay, the assessed area has increased from 12½ millions of acres in 1856 to 20⅓ millions in 1875-6, and an increase of ¾ millions in the land-revenue has resulted notwithstanding an average reduction of 3 as. per acre in the assessment."*

Baden-Powell says that during the twenty years, 1870-71 and 1890-91, the Land Revenue increased only 14 per cent., less than one per cent. a year.†

At a Budget Debate, Sir James Westland stated that the Government demand in Burma amounted to only 8 per cent. of the gross produce, leaving 92 per cent. with the ryot.

On the other hand, Mr. R. C. Dutt asks to have the government demand reduced to the old scale of Hindu Government—one-sixth of the gross produce.

Collection of Reliable Statistics.—The late Sir W. W. Hunter, formerly Director-General of Statistics, said in 1881 :—

"It has been my duty to find out precisely what amount of information exists with regard to the agriculture of India; and to compare that information with the facts which the Governments of Europe and America supply on the same points. I have come to the conclusion that no central Government stands more in need of agricultural knowledge than the Government of India, and that no Government has a smaller stock of such knowledge within its central body."

Things have improved since 1881, but correct *data* seem to be still wanting.

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* *British India and its Rulers.* pp. 140, 141.

† *Land Systems of British India.* Vol. III. p. 378.

Instead of having competent men able to give their undivided attention to the work, attempts are made to get information through Divisional Officers and Tahsildars, overburdened with their own duties. The Madras Administration Report for 1896-97 says :—

"The results of the experiments conducted during the year by the Divisional Officers and Tahsildars were as far as ever from furnishing trustworthy data from which an average yield per acre could be calculated, or the correctness of the settlement estimates of out-turn could be guaged." p. 61.

It may be objected that the "Land Revenue Policy of the British Government, published by Order of the Governor-General of India in Council," is a sufficient reply. Departmental Inquiry will not satisfy the public, and so long as Government refuses to face a public investigation, so long will its statements be questioned.

The Education, Irrigation and Police Commissions have been useful in their place; but a Commission on the present Incidence of the Land Tax and what it ought to be, is far more needed.

The inquiry, of course, cannot be extended over the whole country, but representative districts might be selected for careful investigation.

SUPPOSED COST OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

At a public meeting in England, Mr. D. Naoroji asserted that the cause of the poverty of India

"was simply that the employment of a foreign agency caused a large drain to the country, disabling it from saving any capital at all." *Indian Spectator*, Jan. 23, 1887.

It has been shown, in opposition to this statement, that since 1835, India has saved in the precious metals 630 crores.

But a few remarks may be made on the cost of the Civil Service. The salaries of Civilians seem high to the people of India, where farm labourers receive only two or three annas a day. In England, where similar labourers get ten times as much, they appear much more moderate. There are many men in England who earn in their own country more than the highest Indian Civilian. There are Indian lawyers whose incomes exceed the salaries of District Judges. Not long ago an Indian Vice-Minister threw up Rs. 6,666-10-8 per month, because he could do better as a merchant in England.

There are serious drawbacks connected with European life in India. The climate is not so healthy as England's and not a few retire with broken-down constitutions or are cut off in the prime

of life. They are separated from wife, children, and friends. Their children cannot be reared in India. To induce able men to come, what are here considered high salaries must be offered. It would be a bad bargain for India to get inferior men on half their pay.

There are very erroneous notions about the cost of the Civil Service. There are men so ignorant as to assert that it is the chief cause of Indian poverty. At the suggestion of Lord Northbrook, Lord Elgin obtained from the Finance Department an approximate estimate of the total annual cost of the Civil Service, including pay, pension, and exchange allowances. It amounted to Rx. 2,301,000. The population of British India in 1891 was 221 millions. The average charge per head monthly is therefore about $1\frac{3}{4}$ pies. If Europeans were replaced by Indians on half their salary, the reduction in taxation would be less than one pie per head monthly.

There are strong reasons why examinations for the Civil Service should at present be confined to England. Macaulay said, "I feel that for the good of India itself, the admission of natives to high office must be effected by slow degrees." If examinations were held in India, the proportion of Europeans would soon be as small as that of Indians is at present. The quality of Indian Civilians would also be lowered. To go to England is some test of enterprise and courage, which may not be possessed by those who have never left their native land before competition.

If proper means are used, Indians, in increasing numbers, will enter the Civil Service. The foolish prejudice against crossing the sea should be given up, and the course of study should be carefully adapted to the requirements of the Service.

SUPPOSED "TRIBUTE" OF THIRTY MILLIONS A YEAR.

A well-known Indian newspaper says:

"India sends away 30 millions of money as her tribute to England, and this tribute, for which not a penny is received in return, as it has been said over and over again by competent writers, is one of the chief causes of India's poverty."

The Bloomsbury Resolution asserts that England 'drains from India some £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 every year.'

When Mr. Naoroji made a similar statement, *The Westminster Review* remarked "Thirty or forty millions,—as if ten millions of pounds sterling was a kind of negligible quantity."

The "revised estimate" of *The Indian Messenger* is even higher:

"We will be considerably within the mark if we reckon it at the rate of 50 millions a year. Now India has been drained to this extent

for the last hundred years, and the process is going on with increased volume every year. What wonder then if India is pauperised to-day?" Nov. 18th, 1900.

Such statements are utterly baseless. India pays no tribute to England. All the payments are interest on money lent, on services rendered, or materials supplied.

Sir William Hunter gives the following explanation :—

"India has more to sell to the world than she requires to buy from it. During the five years ending 1877 the staples which she exported exceeded by an annual average of 21 millions sterling the merchandise which she imported. One-third of the balance she receives in cash; and during the five years she accumulated silver and gold, exclusive of re-exports, at the rate of 7 millions per annum. With another third, she pays interest at low rates for the capital with which she has constructed the material framework of her industrial life—or railways, irrigation works, cotton mills, coal mines, indigo factories, tea-gardens, docks, steam navigation lines, and debt. For this capital she goes into the cheapest market in the world, London, and she remits the interest not in cash, but in her own staples, with which that capital has enabled her to produce and to bring to the sea-board. With the remaining third of her surplus exports, she pays the home charges of the Government, to which she owes the peace and security that also have rendered possible her industrial development. The home charges include not only the salaries of the supervising staff in England, and the pensions of the whole military and civil services, who have given their life-work to India, but the munitions of war, a section of the army, including the cost of its recruitment and transport, all stores for public works, and the whole *material* of a civilised administration. That *material* can be bought more cheaply in England than in India, and India's expenditure on good government is as essential an item for her industrial development, and repays her as high a profit, as the interest which she pays in England for the capital with which she has constructed her dockyards and railways. In summing up, India sells 21 millions a year more of her staples to foreign nations than the merchandise which she buys from them. She takes payment of one-third of the balance, or say 7 millions, in good government, and so secures that protection to person and property which she never had before, and which alone have rendered her industrial development possible. With another third or 7 millions, she pays for the capital with which she has constructed the material framework of that development—pays for it at the lowest interest, and pays for it, not in cash, but in her own products. The remaining 7 millions she receives in gold and silver and puts them in her purse."*

Some further explanation may be given from Sir John Strachey. Referring to the above he says:

"It is this process which is sometimes represented as the drain by which India is being constantly drained of her resources, and forced to pay a

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 40–42.

crushing tribute to England. Such assertions are unfounded. England receives nothing from India except in return for English services rendered or English capital expended. The payments made by India are the result and the evidence of the benefits which she derives from her connection with England. In place of constant anarchy, bloodshed, and rapine, we have given to her peace, order, and justice; and, if our Government were to cease, all the miseries from which she has been saved would inevitably and instantly return. The payments in England are nothing more than the return for the foreign capital in its broadest sense which is invested in India, including as capital not only money, but all the advantages which have to be paid for, such as the intelligence, strength, and energy on which good administration and commercial prosperity depend. India derives from these investments benefits far outweighing the value of the price that she has to pay, and it is through the excess of her exports over imports that she meets her liabilities."*

UNDUE EXPECTATIONS.

Sir H. S. Cunningham, a Member of the First Famine Commission, says in an admirable volume, *British India and its Rulers:*

"I do not believe that it lies within the scope of statesmanship to achieve that a population of between 200 and 300 millions, situated as are the people of India, shall exist without a vast amount of suffering, or that any panacea can be discovered for the maladies which are certain to beset it. The remedy must be found, as in the case of other ills, in knowledge, patience, and skill." p. 4.

Even England, the richest, and probably the best governed country in the world, has its poor. Thorold Rogers says in *Six Centuries of Work and Wages:*

"The great cities and towns of England contain a vast population which lives, one hardly knows how, on mean and precarious wages, in dismal and unwholesome dens. Some of this poverty is merely miserable, some of it is vicious, some is criminal." pp. 554, 555. 5th Ed.

From the metropolis came the 'Bitter Cry of Outcaste London,' with its 30,000 of homeless poor.

While every effort should be made to remedy the present state of things, impossibilities cannot be expected from Government, especially when the people do not co-operate. Again Sir William Hunter's words would be repeated:

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

* *India*, p. 159.

CONCLUSIONS.

These evidently seem as follows:—

India, on the whole, is much richer under British rule, but there is a large and increasing number of landless labourers, for whom, as far as practicable, provision should be made.

The *Indebtedness of the Ryots* also requires careful investigation.

No peddling, half-measures will do. To meet the wants of the case will tax the combined efforts of Government and people.

PART III.

THE REFORMS STILL NECESSARY.

While it is gladly acknowledged that already the British Government has done very much for India, it is equally necessary to urge that very much remains to be done. Attention, however, will be restricted to a few important points.

I. AGRICULTURAL REFORM.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND AGRICULTURE, PAST NEGLECT.

It is admitted that, now and then, agriculture has received some attention from the Government of India.

Its early efforts were chiefly directed to the improvement of cotton. In 1788, thirty-one years after the battle of Plassey, the distribution of cotton seed of a superior quality was commenced. In 1813 the services of an American were obtained. About 1839 ten Americans, experienced in the management of cotton plantations, were engaged, and experimental farms were established.* There were many failures, but, on the whole, good was done.

The great tea industry was initiated by Government. In 1834, under Lord William Bentinck, a committee was appointed 'for the purpose of submitting a plan for the introduction of tea culture into India.' In the following year plants and seed were brought from China, and widely distributed through the country.

* Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*, p. [illegible]

In 1860 Mr. Clements Markham was sent to South America to introduce the cinchona plant. A prize was offered for the best machine for preparing rhea fibre.

The *Calcutta Botanic Garden* was established in 1787. It has been under a succession of able and zealous men, who have done much to make known the botany of India as well as to aid in the introduction of useful plants.

LORD MAYO ON THE NEGLECT OF AGRICULTURE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, 1869.

'I really think,' wrote Lord Mayo in a private letter to Lord Napier of Ettrick, in 1869, 'that the time is come when we ought to start something like an Agricultural Department in the Government of India, with branches in the Presidencies and the Lieutenant-Governorships. Agriculture, on which every man here depends, is almost entirely neglected by the Government. I have seen enough already in my wanderings to know that there is an enormous field, not exactly for the reform, but for the investigation of husbandry in India.' 'Every day,' runs a letter to another friend later in the year, 'the want of a Department for Agricultural trade is more keenly felt, and I believe that the establishment of a separate Department of the Government for this object would be one of the most useful measures which could at present be taken into consideration.'

THE HON. F. NICHOLSON IN 1898 CHARGED THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA WITH HAVING "STARVED" AGRICULTURE.

In the Budget debate Mr. Nicholson estimated the expenditure of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture as follows:—

Land Records	97 lakhs	= Rx.	970,000
Agriculture	5 ,,	= ,,	50,000
	102 lakhs	Rx.	10,20,000

He said:

"It is difficult to disentangle from the accounts the sums spent on or available for Agriculture proper as defined above. In the yellow book for 1896-97 about 102 lakhs are shown against Land Records and Agriculture, but this large sum was evidently spent almost entirely on Land Records, since 97 lakhs are shown as District charges, as we know that this means merely the cost of the village Accountants and Inspecting Staff who have nothing to do with Agriculture proper but only with accounts and statistics: much of the remainder went in salaries and miscellaneous charges of the Land Record officers. If

we add together the cost of two or three Agricultural Colleges shown under Education, a certain moderate proportion of the salary of Land Record officers, such small portion of the expenditure on the Civil Veterinary Department as affects cattle as distinct from horses, which have practically nothing to do with Agriculture, and the sum of about 1½ lakhs shown in the accounts under 'Experimental cultivation,' we shall probably account for the whole amount spent in India on Agriculture proper."

The comparative uselessness of the present expenditure was thus noticed:

"The Departments on their purely agricultural side have been starved; it is only throwing money away to spend a few thousands here and there and now and then; liberal continuous supplies of funds are necessary if the Departments are to be more than a mere *nominis umbra*."

Mr. Nicholson thus described what is required:

"I mean by a Department of Agriculture a Department dealing completely with the second of the three classes of duties mentioned by the Government of India in 1881, viz., 'the general improvement of Indian agriculture, with the view of increasing the food supply and general resources of the people.' I do not mean the Departments in their record and statistical branch, or in their work in organising famine relief, but I mean their duties in examining the local conditions and limitations of agricultural practice, in research and experiment in the fields, and in experimental farms, in examining and dealing with disease in crops and cattle, in fostering better farm practice; in encouraging popular agricultural education, in assisting the spread of associated rural credit."

"Spasmodic efforts are not enough. What is needed is an efficient Department of Agriculture in each province, well and continuously supplied with funds to work out to a continuous policy of research, experiment, instruction and assistance, and that not for a year or two but for generations to come, is an absolute necessity for Agricultural improvement, and, further, that agricultural improvement is, in India, the only sound basis of financial and economic stability."

Sir Richard Temple says: "Eleven bushels of grain per acre are produced in India as compared with thirty in England."*

Although aware of this, the British Government "**starved**" agriculture by expending on it only Rx. 50,000 a year. Well might Mr. A. O. Hume remark†:—

"It is one of these incomprehensible instances of determined national blindness of which history records too many similar examples, but it is a fact that landlords of an estate, let on comparatively short

* *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885.

leases, with a gross rental of seventeen millions, with the full knowledge that the great mass of our land is yielding less than two-thirds of what it should and would if properly cultivated, we absolutely in practice refuse to take one single material step towards remedying this lamentable waste of our property."

LORD CURZON AND INDIAN AGRICULTURE.

Happily the past reproach of neglecting agriculture no longer holds.

His Lordship in his recent Budget Speech thus outlined what Government has done with regard to Agriculture and what it is proposed to do :—

"First let me say what we have attempted so far to do. We have endeavoured to deal with the indebtedness of the agricultural class by the Punjab Legislation which I before mentioned, and now by the Bundelkhand Legislation which he (Sir Denzil Ibbetson) has defended this day."

"We have laid down broad and liberal principles explaining and regulating our policy of Land Revenue Assessments in India, we have created an Inspector-General of Agriculture at the head of the Expert Department, and we have constructed a Board of Scientific Advice, but before us lies the much bigger experiment of combined agricultural research, agricultural experiment, and agricultural education, which Sir Denzil Ibbetson has outlined and which, if we can carry it through, ought to be of inestimable service to the country; if we can simultaneously train teachers, provide estate managers and agents and foster research, we really have done some good in our time."

The Madras Mail quotes the following from Sir Denzil Ibbetson :

"Meanwhile we have been collecting a small staff of experts. Besides an Agricultural Chemist, we already have a Cryptogamic Botanist whose business it is to investigate the diseases which attack our agricultural staples, while an Entomologist who will study the insect pests from which they suffer is just about to land in India. The services of an Economic Chemist are also at the disposal of the Agricultural Department, to which an Economic Botanist has just been transferred by the Madras Government. We are indenting or have indented upon the Secretary of State for two more trained experts and another Agricultural Chemist to be attached to the Provincial Establishments, and when they arrive in India, there will be one only of the larger Provinces which will be without the benefit of highly-trained scientific advice in matters agricultural."

All the above measures are important in their place, but attention is specially invited to the next section.

Lord Curzon on Agricultural Banks.

"Then behind all these proposals lies a scheme which we have greatly at heart, and about which I should like to add a word—I mean the institution of co-operative credit societies, or as they are often called Agricultural Banks.

"I have seen some disappointment expressed that we have not moved more quickly in this matter. If any one had studied, as I have had to do, the replies of all the local governments and their officers on the subject, he would begin to wonder when and how we are to move at all. Of course, it is easy enough to express an abstract approval of Agriculture, to denounce everybody who does not share your views and rush into experiments foredoomed to failures, but that is exactly what Government does not want to do, and what the replies of its advisers would render suicidal.

"There are many who say that the co-operative spirit does not exist in the rural community, that it is unsuited to the conditions of Indian character and life, that the savings banks are not patronised as it is, and that the requisite capital will not be forthcoming. It is impossible to pooh-pooh all these assertions as idle fancy. But even when we get beyond them and justify the desirability of making the experiment on a moderate and cautious scale, we are still confronted with all manner of questions. Is the experiment to be made with village or urban societies or with both? And which first should Government aid of those societies and to what extent and how long? What restrictions should be placed upon them, and should loans be permitted for unproductive as well as productive expenditure? What privileges or concessions should be granted to them by Government and what restrictions should be imposed?"

CLAIMS OF THE RYOTS TO CONSIDERATION.

Indian ryots, on several accounts, eminently deserve our sympathy and efforts on their behalf.

They form the great bulk of the population. With agricultural labourers and others dependent upon the soil, they number about two hundred millions—a vast mass of humanity.

The indispensable usefulness of their labours, is another ground. Without their toil, India would starve. "The king himself is served by the field."

Their good qualities entitle them to our assistance. As a rule, they are hard-working; their fields are models of careful cultivation; with a single exception, they are frugal; they are honest, holding themselves responsible not only for their own debts, but for those contracted by their forefathers.

Their weaknesses are another claim. They are ignorant, blindly following custom or being led by an astrologer. Like the

rest of their countrymen, they cannot resist the temptation of extravagant expenditure at marriages.

The helplessness of these poor dumb millions should excite our pity. Educated Indians and Europeans can bring their grievances before Government and the public; ryots must endure in silence.

Notwithstanding their hard lot, their tendency is to increase beyond the means of subsistence.

Mr. Crooke thus eloquently describes the condition of the ryot:

"There is, perhaps, no more pathetic situation in the whole range of human history than to watch these dull, patient masses stumbling in their traditional way along a path which can lead only to suffering, most of them careless of the future, marrying and giving in marriage, fresh generations ever encroaching on the narrow margin which separates them from destitution. Anxious statesmen peer into the mists which shroud the future, and wonder what the end of all this may be."

Lord Elgin, in his farewell speech, thus urged their special claims to sympathy:

"I can never forget what I have heard and seen of their cheerfulness in a lot which has many hardships and few pleasures, of their fortitude under adversity, of their ready response to kindness, of their reasonableness and trustfulness, when sympathetically led."

SUFFERINGS OF THE RYOTS UNDER BRITISH RULE.

By withholding a privilege which ryots had enjoyed for centuries, both under Hindu and Muhammedan rules, the British Government for a century has caused to the ryots an untold amount of misery, largely counterbalancing other benefits.

The case may be briefly expressed as follows:

PAST.	PRESENT.
Takavi Advances.	**The Money-lender.**

Sir E. C. Buck, formerly at the head of the Revenue and Agricultural Department, says:

"The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one...The money-lender has taken the place of Government." *

An exception was made in the case of opium cultivators; ryots might suffer, but not the opium revenue.

* Quoted in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 76, p. 171.

CULTIVATION ADVANCES UNDER HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN GOVERNMENTS.

It has been the custom of all classes in India, for untold generations, to live from hand to mouth. No provision is made for the future, and borrowing is the universal resort. The Native Governments knew this, and dealt with their subjects accordingly.

The following account of the Takávi System under Native Rule is abridged from an article by Mr. Arthur Harington, late of the Indian Civil Service, in the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. 76), entitled "Economic Reform in Rural India:"

"State advances to cultivators were a feature of the revenue system introduced in 1582 A.D., by Akbar's great minister of finance, Raja Todar Mal. The revenue officer of those days, when the true business of a collector seems to have been understood a good deal better than it is now, was instructed '*to consider himself the immediate friend of the husbandman...he must assist the needy husbandman with loans of money;* and receive payment at distant and convenient periods...Let him learn the character of every husbandman, and be the immediate protector of that class of subjects.' Gladwin's *Ain Abkari*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 44, p. 378.

"Todar Mal's system was 'only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah,' who 'was intimately acquainted with the revenue and agricultural system of India—a knowledge without which no ruler of that country, whatever his abilities may be, can hope to do justice to his subjects,' (Cowell's Elphinstone, p. 541 and Erskine's *India under Babar and Humaiun*, II. p. 442). Shir Shah's system, again, was based upon 'the old rent-roll of that unacknowledged originator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlol' (Lodi) (Thomas' *Pathan Kings*, p. 437). It is therefore probable that from a much earlier period than that of Todar Mal's reforms, state advances had formed an integral part of the imperial revenue system. This probability is greatly increased by the fact that one of the highest and earliest expounders of the Muhammadan law, Abu-Yusuf (born A.D. 731) prescribed such advances."

"Shah Jehan's vizier, Saiadulla Khan, 'the most able and upright minister that ever appeared in India' (Elphinstone), combined the duties of Amin and Foujdar in one person, and appointed him Superintendent of a chakla (or circle) of several parganas ... It was his business to encourage agriculture, to *make advances*, station watchmen over the ripening crops, and report when any indulgence and leniency appeared expedient. This system lasted during the time of Aurangzeb, and till the dissolution of the Empire" (Elphinstone).

"A firman of Alamgir's, dated 1668 A.D. addressed, soon after his accession, to the Diwan of Guzerat, directs that the land revenue shall be collected in the mode and proportion enjoined by the holy law and the tenets of Huneefah as laid down in the following articles:—*First*, you will deport yourself towards the ryots with kindness and humanity, and by wise regulations and practical expedients encourage them to

extend their cultivation so that no land, capable of being rendered productive, may remain uncultivated. *Secondly*, at the commencement of the season you will ascertain whether the cultivators are employed in their cultivation, or appear inclined to neglect it. If they possess the means you will induce them to cultivate their lands by encouragement, and to those who require assistance you will afford it . . . *Should it appear that the cultivators are incapable of furnishing the means of cultivation, you will assist them with money, taking security for the same.*' (Selections from Harrington's Analysis, 195.)*

GRADUAL ABOLITION OF THE TAKAVI SYSTEM BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF OPIUM CULTIVATION, WITH ITS EFFECTS.

The system was at first continued by the British Government. Mr. Harington says:

"In 1767, two years after Clive had obtained from the Company the Diwani or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, we find the first British Government of Bengal already recognizing the necessity of carrying on the native system of advances."

"By sections 23 and 44 of Regulation II. of 1793, the Board was authorised to grant advances of takavi to proprietors or farmers of land when it shall appear essentially necessary, in proportion not exceeding five per cent. on the revenue payable from the lands to Government, reporting all such instances to the Governor-General in Council. For larger sums, the Governor-General's sanction had to be obtained. The interest to be taken was one per cent. per mensem.

"Clause 9 of Section II. Regulation XXVII. of 1803, regarding the collection of the revenue in the Ceded Provinces, says—"*Tahsildars shall make the usual advances of takavi at the proper period, for the purchase of seed, cattle and implements of husbandry, taking bonds for the same, bearing interest at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum.*

"These regulations, with the exceptions of II. of 1793, were not expressly repealed till 1873. But the provisions about advances seem to have fallen into disuse, during the first quarter of the present century." pp. 170, 171.

The Takavi System why discontinued.—Mr. Harington says:—

"I have been unable to find any satisfactory record of the reasons which led to the discontinuance of the *Takavi* system. Probably the chief causes were the growth of the Company's indebtedness, and the increasing difficulty of providing the annual remittance to England; the disorganization produced by the exactions of the early revenue assessments; the want of effective supervision; and after the Charter of 1813 had relaxed the Company's commercial monopoly, the competition of advances by private capitalists."

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 76, pp. 168, 169.

Mr. Maclean, in his Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, curtly says:—

"Advances, called tucavy, used to be made to Government ryots for mere cultivation expenses, but the system was found open to abuse and has now been given up." Vol. I. p. 140.

When the Takavi system was given up, some excuse might be offered from the abuses connected with an uneducated agency. Things at present are very much changed. Capital can now be obtained to any amount. There is a large supply of educated men available, who are a great improvement upon former times. The vast machinery for the collection of revenue, with the necessary additions, could superintend Takavi advances.

Disastrous effects of the Discontinuance of Takavi Advances.

The Cawnpore Settlement Report of Mr. E. C. Buck (now Sir E. C. Buck), thus describes the effect produced by the British Government abnegating one of the principal functions of the former rulers of the country, and depriving ryots of a privilege which they had enjoyed for centuries:

"*The Government was to the community what the heart is to the body. The sudden stoppage of what must have been to the agricultural body corporate its life-blood, while the system of periodical bleeding was continued, had the same effect which similar treatment would have upon the human frame. The members of the community, whether of the first or second degree, have been driven to procure sustenance from another and external source, and the money-lender has taken the place of Government.* The cultivation of crops which require any outlay of cash is carried on by his aid; he supplies the only agency by which coins can be restored to circulation. But when a bad season, or the occasion of a marriage, has thrown a Zemindar or cultivator into his power, he has made use of this opportunity to deprive the former of his land and the latter of his liberty. *The recourse of Zemindars and cultivators to money-lenders has the effect of diverting much of the rental fund from proprietors to usurers, and Government has thereby lost a serious amount of revenue.* Money-lenders too have instituted the practice of making a separate income out of the interest on short loans to cultivators, instead of enhancing their rent rolls. As the rate they charge is 25 to 30 per cent., their unassessed income from this source must be enormous. (Cawnpur Settlement Report, p. 111).*

Two Necessities of the Ryot wanting at present.

These are

1. **Cheap working Capital.**
2. **Liberty to dispose of his produce to the best advantage.**

* Quoted in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 76

Debt is Universal. Mr. A. O. Hume says :—

"Wherever we turn we find agriculturists burthened with debts running on at enormous rates of interest. In some districts, even provinces, the evil is all-absorbing, a whole generation of paupers, hopelessly meshed in the webs of the usurers."*

Ryots *must* borrow. Sir F. A. Nicholson says :—

"All farmers, especially small proprietors, must of necessity and will borrow at one time or other ; the mass borrow habitually."†

Sir John Strachey says :—

"Money-lenders are obviously as necessary to the Indian agriculturist as the seed which he sows, or as the rain which falls from heaven to water his fields."

With regard to the rates of interest charged, speaking of India generally, Sir W. W. Hunter says :—

"It has been my duty to make inquiries in every province of India as to the interest which money yields. I find that for small loans to the cultivators the old native rate of 37½ per cent. per annum still prevails."

The money-lenders vary. Marwaris are notorious for their hard-heartedness and rapacity. The evil is not so great when the money-lender belongs to the place, and especially if he is himself a ryot.

Well-to-do ryots can obtain loans on good security at comparatively reasonable rates : it is the very poor who suffer most.

Sir F. A. Nicholson says :—

"For grain loans the universal rule, when the loan is between ryot and ryot, is an addition of 25 per cent. to the amount borrowed. But when the advance is made by a merchant, broker, or other middleman, the rate may be anything, especially when repayment is made or calculated in rupees."

Such rates, it has been remarked, "would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country."

On the other hand, Sir F. A. Nicholson says :

"If interest can be reduced, say to 6 per cent., the burden of indebtedness would be halved, improvements would be profitable, and debt no longer mean pauperization."

Liberty of Sale is another important item. At present the ryot is so much under the power of the money-lender, that he has to hand over his produce to him at the money-lender's valuation.

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* *Agricultural Reform*, p. 62.

† *Report on Agricultural Banks*, Preface. Vol. I, p. 12.

TWO SUGGESTED MODES OF RELIEVING THE RYOTS—A RETURN TO THE OLD SYSTEM AND AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

The hardships of the ryots under the present system are admitted. It is proposed to remedy them by the establishment of **Agricultural Banks.**

Agricultural Banks, it is allowed, would be a great improvement upon the money-lender. It may also be said in their favour that they tend to develop self-help. While they should be established where circumstances are favourable, they totally fail to meet the necessities of the case.

Because after years of effort they have had a certain amount of success among educated nations in the West, it does not follow that they are adapted to this country.

Agricultural Banks in India are liable to the following serious objections:—

I. **They cannot be established on the Requisite Scale.**—Sir F. A. Nicholson, their great advocate, makes the following admission:

> "Success can only arise from the long-continued practical efforts of zealous men, who while informed in the details of every method yet tried, can yet live among the people, vivify them with their own spirit and intelligence, energize them with some of their own enthusiasm, and with them, work out in actual fact, even though on the humblest lines, the system or systems of the future." Vol. I., p. 32.

How many such zealous, well-informed men are to be found in India, willing to devote their energies to the establishment and working of Agricultural Banks?

II. **There are great Difficulties connected with their Management.**—Some of them are the following:

1. *Difficulties about Capital.*—According to the "Note," Government will lend at first to the Central Banks, but such loans will be only "temporary expedients." "The well-to-do, influential and educated classes," shareholders and depositors, are eventually to supply the funds.

To meet the wants of India a working capital of 3,000 lakhs of rupees, or twenty millions sterling, will be required. Where is this to be found? To meet the difficulty, loans from the proposed Fund are suggested.

2. *The great danger of Fraud.*—Even in Banks worked by skilled European management, with well-paid subordinates serious losses sometimes occur. The danger would be immense increased in the case of thousands of Banks mostly among ignorant ryots, whom crafty educated men could easily ever reach.

3. *People will not invest money in the Banks unless their credit is guaranteed by Government.*—Savings Banks receive numerous deposits because they are perfectly safe; but it would be different with Agricultural Banks. *The Hindu* says:

"One other point to which we earnestly draw the attention of His Excellency Lord Curzon is the necessity for the Government guaranteeing the credit of the proposed banks. Unless this is done, we fear, the proposed scheme will prove once more a melancholy failure." Dec. 6, 1900.

Government, to give it, would require to control the management, involving endless trouble and expense.

4. *The difficulty about Securities.*—The Banks would require some security for their loans. What can ryots, hopelessly in debt, give? It is to be expected, too, that money-lenders will offer all the opposition they can to the working of Agricultural Banks. It will require all the resources of Government to withstand them.

III. **Government could allow much more Favourable Terms than Agricultural Banks.**—To obtain capital, the Banks would require to borrow. Government can get money at 3½ per cent.: the Banks would pay at least 5 per cent. The Central Banks are supposed to yield a profit to the shareholders, although this is not to exceed a certain maximum.

Mr. Harington states the case in a nutshell:—

"Government can borrow money more cheaply than any one else, if capital has to be raised by borrowing, and it alone would seek to make no profit out of the transaction, but merely to pay working expenses and secure itself against loss."

Government can make advances at 6¼ per cent. interest. The Banks, borrowing at 5 per cent., would require to charge *at least* 9 per cent.

IV. **Comparative Time required for the establishment of Agricultural Banks and Takavi Advances.**—Mr. Nicholson states that Raiffeisen himself, in spite of his "boundless energy," took nineteen years to establish four Credit Unions" (Report, Vol. I., p. 12). He also admits that "it is only long-continued, energetic, public and private effort, that can bring about success." (Preface p. vi.)

Within two years the foundations of the Takávi system might be laid, and within four years it might be widely extended.

V. **Government has the land as a security and a trained machinery on the requisite scale.**—Sir William Hunter, in his Life of Lord Mayo, quotes his opinion on Takávi advances:

"The Government has always, at least by its legislation, recognised this duty. The system of giving advances of public money, called *takávi*, has prevailed more or less since 1793 up to the present

time. The security is complete; the land is responsible for the repayment. This system is identical with that which has been carried out in England and Ireland by means of the Land Improvement Acts. We are satisfied that the principle may receive a wider development than has hitherto been given to it."

VI. **Satisfactory working of Opium Advances.**—Mr. Harington quotes the testimony of Mr. T. W. Holderness, Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, dated 4th March, 1882:—

"The magnitude of the transactions of the Opium Department is shown by the fact, that the sum advanced annually aggregates two hundred lakhs, or two million sterling . . . *In ordinary years advances for opium growing are recovered with hardly any loss, and the system may be regarded as the most successful and effective one by which, in India, the State comes to the aid of the agriculturist.*" pp. 178, 179.

NATURE OF THE CHANGE PROPOSED.

This is simply to give **to the Agricultural classes, under ordinary circumstances, what they now receive in exceptional cases.**—Considering the terrible sufferings through which many have passed, this is their due. The East India Company continued Takávi advances for opium cultivation for the sake of the revenue; let the British Government extend them for the benefit of the ryots.

INSTITUTION OF AN AGRICULTURAL LOAN FUND.

If Government is to meet the needs of ryots all over the country, its aid must not be doled out in driblets as at present under the Land Improvement Loans Act and Agriculturists' Loans. The amount available must not depend upon the fluctuating annual income.

Government now wisely borrows for Railways and Irrigation Works. In the end the money is recouped, while very great service has been rendered to the people.

Let the same principle be followed with regard to Agricultural Loans.—Under judicious management, there would not be any loss, while the greatest benefit would be conferred upon the classes whose condition most requires to be ameliorated.

To deal with ryots all over India, the capital required will eventually not be less than 30 crores of rupees or twenty million sterling. Government can easily raise this by instalments at 3½ per cent. and before long, if not at present, at 3 per cent. The interest on this would amount to 105 lakhs a year. Suppose it

lent to ryots at 6¼ per cent. (one anna a year on the rupee) the interest would amount to 187½ lakhs, leaving 82½ lakhs available for agency.

Thirty crores is a very large sum, but it would be required only gradually by increments of two or three millions.

Sir F. A. Nicholson says:—

"If interest can be reduced, say to 6 per cent., the burden of indebtedness would be halved, improvements would be profitable, and debt no longer mean pauperization."

Loans to Agricultural Banks.—While it would be greatly preferable for the capital of Agricultural Banks to be raised locally, there are districts in which this is impossible. Government might supply, in such cases, capital at 5 per cent. It should not be less, as this would prevent the raising of local capital, nor should it be more as the Banks have to bear the cost of Agency.

RULES FOR LOANS.

These require careful consideration.

There are two extremes. Advances have been given to a comparatively small extent for the following reasons:

Sir F. A. Nicholson combats "the amiable delusion" that the "ryots thirst for cheap capital in order to pour it upon the soil." He says:—

"The Indian ryot is not more heedful or eager for agricultural development than his European confrére, and direct land and agricultural improvement is the last thing for which credit is sought in Europe." Vol. I., p. 16.

Loans, "very generally, are for maintenance and cultivation expenses." "In many villages the bulk of the small ryots anticipate their crops, borrowing grain for seed and maintenance in the cultivation season, and repaying the advance out of the crop at harvest."*

The loans therefore cannot be widely useful so long as the objects for which they are "very generally" wanted are excluded.

But there are other reasons for the few applications, which are thus summarized by Sir H. S. Cunningham:—

"The cause of the failure of the system has been considered by the Famine Commissioners, and according to them, is to be explained by various defects in the existing organization, by the obstacles created by inefficient native officials, to whom such grants give extra trouble; by the delays, expense and troublesome formalities accompanying the grant, by the charge of interest, the small number of years over which

* Mr. Nicholson's Report, Vol. I., p. 18.

the repayments are spread, the early date at which they commence, and the rigid rules as to punctual repayment."*

Sir H. S. Cunningham adds:—

"The remedy for which this state of things appears to call is the creation of a department whose special business it should be to supervise and assist the agricultural and industrial development of the country." p. 240.

On the other hand, as Sir F. A. Nicholson points out, loans at low rates are not all that is wanted. Their effect might only be to increase the indebtedness of the ryots. Checks are necessary against this as well as inducements to thrift.

Duty of Government.

Mr. Harington says:—

"It is everywhere admitted that the scarcity of local capital injuriously retards the development of the material resources of India, and that the rate at which, at this day, private capital is advanced to the cultivator, 'would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country,' and is one of the most powerful factors in producing the present depression. There are no signs that private enterprise is about to come to the cultivator's relief on any large scale, or on any scale at all, when the cultivator has no substantial security to offer. Nor could private enterprise, even if ready to come forward, offer its accommodation nearly so cheaply as the Government can. For the Government can borrow more cheaply than any one else, if capital has to be raised by borrowing, and **it alone would seek to make no profit out of the transaction, but merely to pay working expenses and secure itself against loss.**

"The Government of India, as chief landlord, is distinctly bound to relieve, in all practicable ways, the wretchedness of its tenants, to improve their material condition, and make it possible for them to do justice to the land they till so toilfully.

"Power, and opportunity, and relation, constitute more than any thing else, the *measure of duty*. If, as I believe, the State in India can, without serious difficulty, give immeasurable relief to millions of its suffering people by itself supplying the capital they want, then, for the '*Má-Báp*' of the Indian ryot to withhold that help is, to compare a political with a human relation, almost as unnatural as for the mother to forget her sucking child."†

The Example of Australia and New Zealand.

The Hindu thus briefly explains the course taken:—

"The State as Money-Lender."

"The woes which the farmer suffers at the hands of the money-lender form the burden of well-nigh universal lament. Russian mujik,

* *British India and its Rulers*, p. 239. † *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 76.

Indian ryot, American corngrower—all join in bewailing the pitiless power of Shylock. Our Australasian fellow-subjects, however, are not in the chorus. They have hit on the idea, Why not be our own Shylocks? The Hon. W. P. Reeves, Agent-General for New Zealand, tells in the *National Review* how they have carried out the idea. 'Colonial Governments as Money-lenders' is the title of his paper."

"ADVANCE, AUSTRALASIA"—NEW STYLE.

"Forty years ago, he says, it was quite a common thing for farmers and flock owners in Australasia to pay fifteen per cent. for advances on their wool, sheep, or crops. From 1850 to 1870 mortgage rates varied from nine to seven, by 1890 from seven and a half to six on the cream of landed property. But as prices fell lower, cheaper money became a necessity, and in the bad times, 1893—95, the farmer's cry was loud and bitter. In four colonies—New Zealand, South Australia, Western Australia, and Victoria—the Government, being able to borrow more cheaply than the private citizen, came to the rescue and passed certain Advance Acts whereby the State became money-lender. The private usurer found an effective competitor."

ACKNOWLEDGED DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

Lord Curzon, in his Budget Speech of 1902, said:
"Agricultural Banks:

"There are several questions which we have upon the stocks, and which we hope to carry forward during the ensuing year. There is the institution of Agricultural Banks, or Mutual Credit Societies, which has been alluded to by Sir E. Law. I am far from predicting confidently that this experiment will be suited to the condition of Indian life. But at least let us try, and if we do not attain success, let it not be from failure to deserve it."

Lord Curzon, in his Budget Speech of 1903, as already quoted, made the following admission:

"I have seen disappointment expressed that we have not moved more quickly in this matter. If any one had studied as I have had to do, the replies of all the local governments and their officers on the subject, he would begin to wonder when and how we are to move at all."

AGRICULTURAL BANKS ALONE CANNOT MEET THE CASE.

It is granted that Agricultural Banks have their advantages, and that they should be tried where the circumstances are favourable; but it is strongly urged that they cannot be adapted to all

parts of the country. In many cases only a return to the Takavi system is practicable.

The Takavi system has been tested for centuries; Agricultural Banks are an exotic, which, even in its own habitat, has required long and careful cultivation.

It may be objected that 48 Agricultural Banks have been established in Bengal, but the great majority of them are in Wards' Estates, which is not all a satisfactory proof of their general applicability.

SUGGESTED TRIAL BOTH OF TAKAVI ADVANCES AND AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

It is allowed that Agricultural Banks have their advantages. The question is, Can they be established on the requisite scale? Let both the Takávi system and Agricultural Banks be carefully tested in selected districts, and the future policy determined by the experience gained.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

This important subject is not overlooked, but attention is perhaps better concentrated on relieving the ryots from the oppression of the money-lender. If secured, they would be better able to pay the educational cess which will probably be necessary.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

If improved agriculture is the *right* hand with which to fight against famine, developed manufactures are the *left*.

Happily, in this case, Indian public opinion is, in some measure, prepared. There were Industrial Exhibitions in connection with the last two meetings of the Indian National Congress, and a third is proposed for the Madras Session.

Decline of Indian Industries.

It is the general feeling among educated Indians that the manufactures of the country have declined through the adverse policy of the British Government. This, no doubt, had an influence. In the 18th century the people of England were protectionists, as most educated Indians are at present. Mr. R. C. Dutt, on the "Decline of Industries" (1793-1813), quotes the following from the evidence of John Ranking:

"Can you state what is the *ad valorem* duty on piece goods sold at the East India House?

"The duty on the class called calicoes is £3 6*s*. 8*d*. per cwt. upon importation, and if they are used for home consumption there is a fur duty of £63 6*s*. 8*d*. per cwt.

"There is another class called muslins, on which the duty on importation is 10 per cwt., and if they are used for home consumption, of £27 6*s*. 8*d*. per cwt.'*

It is also admitted that Indian manufacturers received unfair treatment from the East India Company. Mr. Dutt says:

"It was hardly possible that foreign merchants and rival manufacturers, working for their own profit, should have this object in view (the introduction of superior methods) and the endeavour was never made. A policy the reverse of this was pursued with the object of replacing the manufactures of India, as far as possible, by British manufactures." p. 289.

Nor is there perfect justice even under the Crown, although things have greatly improved. A British ministry is sustained by the strength of its party. Some of its supporters may say, Unless you pass certain measures, you will be thrown out, and the ministry has to yield.

All that can be said is, that there is an increasing sense of justice on the part of the Nation generally. The course to be taken is to agitate till the national conscience is awakened.

But the great cause of the decline of Indian Industries has been the changed conditions of modern times, which may be briefly expressed as follows:

PAST.	PRESENT.
Manual Labour guided by Custom.	**Steam guided by Experts.**

Sir George Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, Mr. T. N. Mukerji's *Art Manufactures of India*, and the Exhibition at the late Durbar show the unrivalled skill of the Indian artizan. Under former conditions, he could hold his own against any competitors. *The Indian Spectator* says:

"Before the advent of the English we had a few industries. But the foreigner introduced commodities manufactured by the agency of steam and such natural agents. These were much cheaper and better than the products of indigenous skill, and therefore drove the latter out of market. This is as it should be, as always in the world's progress will happen." *Jan.*, 15th, 1890.

At the Poona Industrial Conference, the late Hon'ble Mr. Ranade made a similar acknowledgment:—

"The Industry and Commerce of the country, such as it was, is passing out of our hands, and except in the large Presidency towns, the

* *Economic History of British India*, p. 261.

country is fed, clothed, warmed, washed, lighted, helped, and comforted generally by a thousand Arts and Industries in the manipulation of which its sons have every day a decreasing share. Foreign competition, not because it is foreign, but because it is the competition of Nature's powers against Man's Labour,—it is the competition of organised Skill and Science against Ignorance and Idleness—is transferring the monopoly not only of wealth, but what is more important, of skill, talent and activity, to others."*

The weavers of Europe suffered equally with those of India from the introduction of steam power. The world will not stand still that Indian weavers may "follow the ancients." The proper course is to adapt Indian industries to modern conditions. It is satisfactory, as shown before (see p. 62), that encouraging progress has already been made in this direction.

Need of Developed Manufactures.—The Famine Commissioners begin this section of their Report by saying:

"We have elsewhere expressed our opinion that at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete, which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such support."

The Commissioners conclude by thus reiterating their opinion:—

"To whatever extent it is possible, however, the Government should give assistance to the development of industry in a legitimate manner, and without interfering with the free action of the general trading community, it being recognised that every new opening thus created attracts labour which would otherwise be employed to comparatively little purpose on the land, and thus set up a new barrier against the total prostration of the labour market which in the present condition of the population follows on every severe drought." p. 176.

If manufactures are to be developed on the requisite scale, the necessary steps must be taken. It will not do to add manufactures to the duties of an officer already burdened with his own work. Such miserable "penny-wise, pound-foolish" policy has been a great hindrance to the prosperity of India.

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* *Essays on Indian Economics*, p. 183.

MEANS OF DEVELOPMENT.

The following steps are necessary:

1. **The organization of a Separate Department.**—Each large Province should have a well-qualified Director of Manufactures. He should thoroughly investigate ancient industries that have declined, and see whether they can be revived under modern conditions. He should ascertain where new industries may be commenced with success, and seek to foster them. Happily, Industrial Exhibitions are now becoming popular. The Director might do much to guide and encourage them.

The Director should keep himself *au courant* with improvements made in any part of the world, and, where suitable, seek to introduce them. He should also be Superintendent of Industrial Education.

A Director-General is required. The Government has, fortunately, in Sir George Watt, an officer possessing, in an eminent degree, the qualifications necessary.

The Home Government has a President of the "Board of Trade," with an establishment costing £192,328 a year. Every well-organised State in Europe has its Minister of Commerce. Even China has her Minister of Trade.

It is true that a Bureau of Commerce is to be established. Though this will be very valuable for *registering* progress, and assist in the *distribution* of Indian manufactures, it cannot *initiate* them or aid directly in their *production*. It is a valuable *adjunct*, but cannot serve as a *substitute*.

2. **An Industrial Survey.**—This was suggested in 1872 by Dr. Forbes Watson, of the India Museum. He explained it in a pamphlet entitled, "Industrial Survey of India."

Dr. Watson points out the benefits of the Survey in promoting internal commerce, and its political advantages as tending to raise up a middle class.

This admirable scheme was never carried out, owing to the opposition of the India Council. Sir Louis Mallet was the Permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office. The following quotation from him is given in the Famine Commission Report, App. I. page 135:—

"If there is any one thing which is wanting in an investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. There is hardly a subject upon which the best authorities do not absolutely disagree as to the fundamental facts. I could mention the most startling instances, but they must be present to the minds of all of us. Now, I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well-digested set of facts as to the recognition of

general principles. The only occasion upon which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehement opposition of some members of Council, for whose opinions and experience I have the most unfeigned respect, was in my advocacy of Dr. Forbes Watson's proposal for an Industrial Survey."

Some steps in this direction have already been taken by the Government of India. Mr. Alfred Chatterton, in a Paper on Industrial Education, says:

"As the outcome of the Simla Educational Conference, a Special Commissioner was sent round India in the early part of 1902 to gather information respecting Industrial Schools, and to report what steps should be taken to place industrial education on a satisfactory footing and render existing Institutions of practical use in developing the material resources of the country. The Commission has long since presented its Report to the Government of India, but, as yet, no action has been taken thereon." *

3. A well-devised system of Industrial, Commercial, and Technical Education.

It is not enough to say to the educated youth of India, "Turn to manufactures." They cannot be expected to *initiate* industries. They may reasonably ask in each district, "*How can we be best employed? Where can we get the necessary training?*"

It cannot, however, be denied that such education requires great knowledge and wisdom to avoid failure. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, when Director of Public Instruction, remarked in reference to the Madras School of Arts, "It is no easy matter to determine what manufactures may be most usefully taught in an establishment of this description." The selection must differ to some extent in different provinces, according to the facilities or demand for each industry.

The attempts in India in this direction have hitherto had only a very partial success. Lord Curzon, in his Simla speech, referring to Art Schools, said:

"Where with great labour a boy is taught carving, or pottery, or sculpture, or some other art industry, and then when he has got his diploma he cheerfully drops his art, and accepts a modest billet in the service of Government."

Instead of this,

"We must turn them into practical places, where a boy does not merely pick up a smattering of an art or an industry for which he has no care, but where he acquires a training for a professional career."

* *Madras Mail*, May 5th, 1903.

Various grades of Institutions are required, from a humble Industrial School in a small town to a well-equipped Technical College in each Presidency.

At Glasgow Lord Rosebery expressed the opinion that the Twentieth Century would be "a period of keen and almost fierce international competition." "The nation must become more business-like and thorough as warriors, merchants, and statesmen." This is an additional call to effort on behalf of India.

EXPERTS TO BE SUPPLIED BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

Lord Curzon, in his Chamber of Commerce Speech, said :—

"After an experience of four years in this country, I do not hesitate to say that we are trying to run this Empire with a staff that would be considered inadequate in a second-class European Kingdom. (Cheers.) We came here as traders, we developed into conquerors, and long since we were turned into administrators. But now the Government of India are expected to be much more. We are required to be up-to-date and to know everything about agriculture, commerce, emigration, labour, shipping, customs, the application of science to every form of production, the secrets of coal, iron, steel, salt, oil, tea, cotton, indigo and jute. (Laughter and cheers.) The fact is that we have not yet expanded to the needs of the new situation. You cannot in a moment take a race of specially trained administrators and expect them to develop the capacities of the merchant. Gradually, but surely, we shall make things right. I am the last man to propose the multiplication of posts or the creation of sinecures. But it is clear to me that we must systematise and specialise our work far more than we have hitherto done. (Cheers.) We must have special departments and special men over them to deal with special jobs; instead of allowing technical subjects to be dealt with at the end of a day's work by a tired-out Civilian. (Cheers.) Already in my time we have done a good deal in this respect. We have placed Education and Archæology under expert heads. We have brought out mining experts to inspect our mines. We have imported a Government architect to purify our egregious taste. (Laughter.) We have created a Department of Agriculture with an Inspector-General at its head, and we now, with the aid of the munificent donation that I recently received from a wealthy American gentleman, Mr. Phipps, (Loud cheers), are to unify in one place all the various departments of scientific investigation in connection with agriculture."

India has the great advantage of a supply of cheap intelligent labour. Experts, supplied by Government, combined with individual action on the part of the people, would soon raise Indian manufactures to a higher stage than they ever reached before.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL.

Difficulties of the Viceroy's Office.—There is perhaps no ruler in the wide world with greater responsibilities and means of usefulness than the Viceroy of India. He has to act as a kind of earthly Providence to one-fifth of the population of the globe, the bulk of them in the helpless condition described by Mr. Crooke.

The Viceroy is generally a stranger to India. It is most important that in his Council the great interests of the country should be represented, so that their claims may be advocated. One should not be sacrificed to another, perhaps less important, because it was unheard.

Contradictory Policy of the Government of India.—It is a strange compound of "penny-wise and pound-foolish" economy and enlightened liberality. The traditions of the "Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies," are mingled with the duties of a mighty Empire. The territory under the merchants for many years was insignificant; their main object was to increase their dividends. Hence, their establishments were small. At present there are cases where, from false economy, one man is expected to do the work of three. The duties of the Secretary, "Home Department," Calcutta, are thus summarized in Thacker's *Indian Directory*:

BRANCHES OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.—*Indian Civil Service—Indian Factories Act—Ecclesiastical matters and the Ecclesiastical Service—Census—Gazetteers—Fine Arts—Oriental Languages, Cantonment Magistrate's Department, European Vagrancy Act, Internal Politics—Law and Justice—Escheats and Intestate Property—Jails, Reformatory Schools and Penal Settlements—Police—Indian Arms Act—Education—Public Health and Sanitation—Municipalities and Local Boards—Civil Medical Service—Judicial and Administration Establishments—Examinations—Registration—Copyright—Naturalization of aliens.*

For a miserable saving, all the above duties, including Education, are thrown upon one man.

On the other hand, the Geological Survey, the Railways and Irrigation works, &c., of India are monuments of enlightened liberality.

Present Constitution of the Viceroy's Council.—Exclusive of the Viceroy, there are six members:—

The Commander-in-Chief. Extraordinary Member.
Civilian Member representing North India.
Law Member.
Finance Member.
Military Member.
Civilian Member for South India.

It may be remarked that out of the seven, including the Viceroy, only two are appointed on account of their knowledge of India and the requirements of its people. The other five members are chosen for special knowledge of their own departments.

The military element is large — one-third exclusive of the Viceroy. Naturally the members have a high idea of the importance of the army, and will push its claims.

The Governor of Madras, with 36 millions under him, has two Members of Council, like Mr. Streynsham Master in the 17th century, with a salary of £300 a year, and a comparative handful under his rule.

It is true that the Viceroy and Governors have Secretaries whom they may consult, but they will be most influenced by the men who sit with them in Council.

The Prime Minister of England's Cabinet the Model.—Energetic intelligent Anglo-Saxons can do many things for themselves which must be left undone in India unless taken up by Government. In this country the people, in their ignorance, not unfrequently, oppose measures intended for their own benefit. The Prime Minister of England, the mainspring of the Cabinet, is intimately acquainted with England; the Governor-General of India is nearly always a stranger to the country.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONS TO THE COUNCIL.—The following great interests should be represented:

Agriculture.—Although about eighty per cent. of the people are dependent upon agriculture and the land revenue amounts to 26 millions, the largest in the world, its claims have, on the whole, been disgracefully neglected.

A Representative in Council would be able to urge its needs and secure for it more consideration.

Manufactures.—Next to the improvement of Agriculture, the development of Manufactures is the crying material want of India. The establishment of a separate department has been advocated. It requires to be skilfully guided and supplied with the requisite funds. Both objects would be largely aided by having the Director-General a member of Council.

Education.—The Marquis of Londonderry, President of the Board of Education, is a member of the Cabinet. The cost of administration was estimated at £150,378 in 1902-3, and the total grant for Secondary Education, at £876,450, for Elementary Education at £9,114,036. (Whittaker.)

Even at present, the expenditure on Education in India, is large; but the great increase required demands a representative in Council.

Cheese-paring economists, whose only idea of statesmanship is to reduce expenditure, may object to the additional outlay;

but it would be a mere trifle compared with the revenue of the country.

It is believed that intelligent thoughtful men, on careful consideration, will see that the influence of the proposed change would be far-reaching and most beneficial.

At present the military element is too powerful—two members out of six, exclusive of the Viceroy. Had the proportion been smaller, perhaps some of the frontier wars might have been avoided, and the military expenditure considerably reduced. At all events, by the proposed change, three great interests—Agriculture, Manufactures, and Education—would receive greatly increased attention.

Army Charges.—With a net-work of railways and the electric telegraph, a much smaller army than before will meet India's own requirements. On the other hand, from Lord Curzon's Budget Speech, the military expenditure will probably be increased:

"The geographical position of India will more and more push her into the forefront of continental politics; she will more and more become the stratagetical position of the British Empire."

When it was proposed to have a large reserve force in South Africa, Mr. Brodrick objected on account of the expense, which would fall upon the British Government. The expense of the reserve should not be thrown upon India.

The excessive military charges have been a long-standing complaint. In 1881 Sir H. S. Cunningham wrote:—

"Strenuous endeavours should be made to reduce military expenditure; reductions to the amount of 1¼ million sterling have been reported by the Army Commission to be compatible, under improved arrangements with increased efficiency; the £970,000 entered in the Home Charges for 'effective' and the £1,936,000 entered under 'non-effective' military services to be especially scrutinised."*

The British nation, properly informed, is willing to pay whatever is justly due, and would scorn to throw upon a poor country like India any part of its legitimate expenses. The fault lies at the door of the War Office. It is proverbial that other people's money is spent freely. The War Office has the reputation of being ingenious in devices to ease its own budget by throwing expenses on India. There have been a few shady transactions in former days between England and India. Sir William Hunter has thought it necessary to give the following caution:—

"I hope that this country will realise once and for all the poverty of the people from whom the Indian revenues are raised. When we

* *British India and its Rulers*, p. 300.

have clearly recognised this, we shall see that the smallest act of financial sharp-dealing with India is an act not only of iniquity but of cruelty and meanness, and one which carries with it lasting reproach."*

"If the British nation had realised the poverty of India, it would have refrained from several acts which now form standing reproaches against England in the native press. Fortunately for the national honour, the list of our injustices to India, although sufficiently painful to all who wish to see this country discharge its great duties in a noble spirit, is not a very long one. But under pressure of party exigencies and class interests in England, that list may at any moment be added to."†

INDIA TO BE BENEFITED BY A WISE EXPENDITURE RATHER THAN BY PETTY ECONOMIES.

The great object of would-be Indian statesmen is to show how one or two pies of taxation might be saved monthly. While, of course, unwise expenditure should be reduced, the grand aim should rather be to render the labours of the people more productive. The condition of an agricultural labourer would be far more ameliorated by increasing his earnings a rupee or two per month, than by the entire abolition of the Salt Tax. Efforts should be mainly directed in this direction, and it will be accomplished rather by a judicious outlay than by petty savings.

PART IV.

APPEAL TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR ITS CO-OPERATION.

INTRODUCTION.

Since the first meeting of the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS at Bombay in December, 1885, the writer has taken a deep interest in it, as calculated, if well conducted, to be of very great benefit to India in many ways.

In 1878 he published a pamphlet entitled, "THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: *The Resolutions of its Thirteen Sessions, Indian Progress since its Establishment, with Suggestions for its increased Usefulness.*

The Pamphlet mentioned the following USEFUL RESULTS as already gained by the Congress.‡

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 55, 56. † *Ibid*, p. 55.

‡ Sold by Mr, A. T, Scott, Tract Depôt, Madras, 3 As,, Post-free, 4½ As.

1. **The promotion of Friendly Feeling, and the awakening of an interest in India as a Whole.**—At the first Session, Mr. W. C. Bannerjee, the Chairman, placed the following objects in the forefront to be aimed at by the Congress:

"(*a*) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in all parts of the Empire.

"(*b*) The eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country."

When Lord Randolph Churchill was Secretary of State for India, he said, in an address, that the aim of the British Government was "to weld the 250 millions of India, in process of time, into one great united people."

If the Congress did nothing more than promote a friendly feeling among the different races occupying India, it would be doing a noble work, richly compensating the labour involved.

2. **The Congress has been an Index to Indian Public Opinion.**—It is true that it represents very largely only the views of the educated classes—a very small minority. Still, it is one of the best means available at present.

The exchange of views has been greatly facilitated by personal intercourse. The opinions expressed all over the country are, as it were, brought to a focus by the Congress.

Whether the Resolutions are right or wrong, they are useful. If wrong, they can be examined, and their error pointed out.

3. **Some useful Results have already followed.**—During the thirteen years of the existence of the Congress, some fifty subjects have been, more or less, considered. On several of them some action has been taken, while others have been kept before the public. Of course, the Congress is only one of several agencies, but it has contributed to the result.

SUGGESTIONS OFFERED FOR THE BETTER ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS.

1. Sectional Committees.

India is a very big subject. A division of labour is necessary, so that questions may be discussed by those who have made them a specialty.

At present there is one General Committee, to which all proposed Resolutions are referred. No one is asked to pay particular attention to the subject in which he is interested; nor, if he does, is his recommendation considered by persons specially qualified to express an opinion with regard to its desirability. According to the old proverb, "Everybody's business is nobody's business."

It is well-known that questions can be far better discussed by a few persons acquainted with the subject than by a large General Committee. Time is often wasted by ignorant objections or the talkative disposition of some of the members. On this account the Congress Committee, it has been said, has sometimes required to sit till midnight.

The Congress, following the example of the British Association,* should have Sectional Committees, as well as a General Committee. The divisions might be LEGISLATION, EDUCATION, FINANCE, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

Besides Sectional Committees, there should be Sectional Secretaries. It would be the duty each of the latter, with the assistance of representative members in each great Province, to watch what has been done during the year in connection with his subject, to draw up a Report upon it, at the same time bringing to the notice of the Congress any points on which action is suggested to be taken. The five Reports might be embodied in a complete Report, edited by the General Secretary, and printed for circulation a few weeks before the meeting of Congress. If carefully drawn up, the various Reports would form valuable guides to the Congress in its deliberations, as well as prove of interest to the community at large.

In most cases the recommendations of the Sectional Committees would readily be adopted by the General Committee.

All this would involve some labour, but not so much as if one man had to report upon the whole. Throughout India there are many pensioners, with a fair measure of health, who might each take up the department for which he is specially qualified.

Some allowance might be made for the purchase of Reports, postage, &c.

2. Concentration of Attention.

Formerly some thirty or forty subjects, either in separate Resolutions or re-affirmed, were brought before the Congress. Following each other so rapidly, like the turning of a kaleidoscope, no distinct impression was left upon the mind.

At the First Session Mr. W. C. Bannerjee stated what should be an important part of the Congress arrangements:—

"*(d)* The determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests."

So far as information is available, this has been greatly overlooked. No definite plan of campaign has been marked out, and proceedings have been desultory.

* The Universities afford an example of a similar division of labour. The Senates are grouped into *Faculties*.

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The "general condition of India," is a question far too vague to be discussed with advantage. Important subjects should be singled out for special study, to be followed by action.

3. Resolutions to be Followed up.

A Resolution is passed, supported by one or more speeches, and then the matter has often rested till the same course is taken next year without any progress.

There are minor questions which may well remain in abeyance, while attention is devoted to subjects of far more importance. The latter, however, should not be allowed to drop between Congresses.

As already stated, where it is desirable to move Government, the first step is a clear and full statement of the case. This may be addressed to Government, and supported in Legislative Councils by non-official members. If this is sufficient, no further action need be taken. In England when a bill is lost, its promoters hold public meetings and present petitions, sometimes repeated year after year, until the question is settled. The same course might be followed in India. A Standing Committee should watch over measures when further action is necessary.

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF CONGRESS.

1. ITS OWN BETTER ORGANIZATION.

Attention is invited to the defects which have been mentioned. The chief reform is

THE APPOINTMENT OF A PERMANENT GENERAL SECRETARY.

A Secretary of the right stamp would help to keep alive interest in the work of the Congress, throughout the year, and stir up the Sectional Committees to do their duty. The HON. G. K. GOKHALE, B.A., seems well qualified for this post. He has retired from educational work in connection with the Fergusson College, Poona, and would probably be willing to accept the appointment.

A paid Secretary is preferable to an Honorary Secretary, as he feels more bound to devote himself to the work in which he is engaged. A large salary would not be necessary in the case of Mr. Gokhale; his disinterested labour for years is a sufficient evidence of this.

During the writer's long life he has had many opportunities for watching the success or failure of institutions. In every case the Secretary has been a very important factor. The loose organization, or want of organization, of the Congress is the great cause why it has not achieved still greater results. The attention of members of Congress is therefore earnestly invited to the above recommendation. The future usefulness of the Congress hinges largely upon its adoption.

2. The Indebtedness of the Ryots and Suggested Measures for their Relief.

As the ryots form the great bulk of the population of India, their welfare is a subject of the deepest interest. In the foregoing pages the privilege which they enjoyed under Hindu and Muhammadan Governments has been described, with the sufferings they have endured on account of its withdrawal by the British Government.

"India: Past and Present," in the above respect, well deserves the attentive consideration of Congress, and a full Report on the subject ought to be presented.

Takavi Advances and Agricultural Banks are the two suggested modes of relief. Both deserve careful investigation.

It is suggested that the Congress might offer three prizes of Rs. 1,000, Rs. 500, and Rs. 250 respectively for the best papers on the indebtedness of the ryots, stating both the causes and the remedies.

The subject is one of the most important that can be considered by the Congress. Attention should be directed to it, and some valuable suggestions might be elicited. In any case, it would be an interesting experiment, and help to call forth latent talent. Some liberal friends of the Congress might meet the entire expense.

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3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

The growing interest taken in this is a hopeful sign. The Industrial Exhibitions of the Congress are a great encouragement. The President of the Ahmedabad Congress said in his Address:

"With all thankfulness I own that the Industrial Exhibition has come to be regarded as a necessary adjunct of the National Congress. Your Exhibition has been a magnificent success."

The prominent part taken at the Ahmedabad Congress by the Maharaja of Baroda should act as a stimulus.

The measures suggested to be taken by Government are noticed at some length in the preceding pages, but its efforts

should be seconded by the people. The following recommendation of the *Poona Sarva Janak Sabha Journal* might be adopted :—

(2) "In the *second* place, we must organise ourselves with a view to co-operation and associated action. In these days, without organization there can be no vigour or sustained energy in our efforts at industrial development, nor can there be any chance of success in a field where we have to meet our foreign rivals on such unequal terms. We must have a strong central native Chamber of Commerce for each Presidency at the Capital, with corresponding branch associations in the districts, with duties and functions similar to those of the English Chambers of Commerce in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and with adequate funds at their disposal. The Central Chamber should have a monthly Vernacular magazine in which to publish its proceedings.

"It would not be difficult to start such an organization. Already we have small native trading associations in Bombay, Poona and Sholapoor, which would form a good nucleus to start from. In other towns, too, the necessary elements exist, and to establish associations, we have only to impress on the local mercantile communities the necessity for combination, and the practical aims it is sought to attain by it."

4. AN APPEAL FROM CONGRESS TO THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES TO RENDER EDUCATION BETTER SUITED TO THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY.

It is cheerfully allowed that, even at present, education has done and is doing much good. The ability to read and write has been conferred, general intelligence has been promoted, the moral standard has been raised, and Government has been provided with officers much superior in several respects to their predecessors.

The question is not, whether education is now doing a great amount of good, but **Is it doing what it ought? Are there defects to be corrected? Are there wants to be supplied?**

The opinion of Lord Curzon on this point is very decided. In his Budget Speech his Lordship said :

"*I lay down as an absolute and unassailable proposition that our Educational Systems in India are faulty in the extreme; and that, unless they are reformed, posterity will reproach us for the lost opportunity for generations to come.*"

"**Progress,**" says Guizot, "is the fundamental idea of civilization." The beginning of a new century is a fitting time to examine our educational machinery, to render it more efficient.

So far as LITERATURE and SCIENCE are concerned, education in India has reached a fair standard of efficiency. But these alone are not enough to meet human needs, especially in this

country, where there is a vast mass of humanity, toiling and moiling, sunk in ignorance and poverty. Such deserve our deepest sympathy and most earnest efforts for their amelioration.

Macaulay says in his Essay on Bacon :

" The chief peculiarity of Bacon's philosophy seems to us to have been this, that it aimed at things altogether different from those which his predecessors had proposed to themselves.

" What then was the end which Bacon proposed to himself ? It was, to use his own emphatic expression, ' fruit.' It was the multiplying of human enjoyments and the mitigating of human sufferings. It was ' the relief of man's estate.' "

" Two words form the key of the Baconian doctrines, Utility and Progress. The ancient philosophy disdained to be useful, and was content to be stationary. It could not condescend to the humble office of ministering to the comfort of human beings."

How does the case stand with regard to the Indian Universities ? Have they kept in view the **" relief of man's estate ?"** or have they not **" condescended to the humble office of ministering to the comfort of human beings ? of multiplying human enjoyments and mitigating human sufferings ?"**

During the sessions of the Commission and in the long controversy occasioned by its Report, this view of the case seems to have been almost ignored.

WANT OF ADAPTATION TO INDIA THE CRYING DEFECT OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

The servile imitation of home models is thus pointed out by Sir John Strachey. Referring to Indian Colleges he says :

" These institutions give, in the English language, a more or less good imitation of the purely scholastic part of an ordinary English education, but the young men of India learn in them almost nothing about their own country, or about the Government under which they live, and, least of all, are they taught to be good and loyal citizens."*

The *Times* says in an editorial :—

" There has been more zeal than wisdom, more eagerness to imitate English models than to give the education really needed by the Natives." (August 31st, 1897.)

Lord Curzon said at Simla :

" We started by a too slavish imitation of the English models, and to this day we have never purged ourselves of the taint."

* *India*, pp. 214, 215.

The defective Educational System of the Indian Universities is largely responsible for the Bloomsbury Resolution and the erroneous ideas of political economy so generally entertained.

Mrs. Besant complains that *selfishness* is the gospel of Indian Education. No special means are taken to interest the students in the well-being of their country.

College authorities are too much engrossed with their tale of *passes* to think of the sad condition of the great majority of the people of India and how they might promote their well-being. An appeal from the Congress might have some influence in this direction.

Professorship of Indian Economics necessary.—It is true that the Indian Universities include Political Economy as an optional or compulsory subject in the higher examinations; but this is not enough. It is not taken up by the great majority of students, and the course is not sufficiently adapted to India. It should be *Indian* Economics, not dealing with theoretical questions, but with the erroneous opinions which have been noticed.

The Athenæum, in reviewing Nicholson's *Principles of Political Economy*, says:—

"The schools and chairs appear to be engaged in a perpetual logical exercitation, while the great body of mankind—labourers, merchants, statesmen—pass unheeding by or look on only in contempt. There never has yet been seen or known the political economy that a man of average common sense would give two-pence for." March 12, 1898.

The Educational Review referring to the above remark, says:

"The words undoubtedly point to a defect in the subject of Political Economy as taught in India. The fault lies not so much with the lecturers as with the fact there exists no text-book on the subject of Political Economy as applied to India. As it is, our students study books, such as Fawcett's Manual of Political Economy which base all their illustrations on conditions as they exist in England—conditions which do not exist in India, and which therefore, are unintelligible to the student. Even when the illustration has been carefully explained, there still remains the fact that the conditions on which the illustration is based do not appeal to the experience of the Indian student. What is wanted is a book which deals with the three agents of production, land, labour, and capital, as applied to India, and with such questions as the currency and the land tenures of India." *June*, 1898, pp. 248, 249.

This is acknowledged in the Universities Commission Report:

107. "Some teachers complain that they are restricted to the abstract doctrines of certain European and American political economists, and that students learn the subject matter of the books without

grasping the theories or comprehending the illustrations. The study might be made more intelligible and more instructive if attention was directed to the economic conditions with which the students are familiar, and if they were encouraged to investigate in a scientific manner the economic problems of India."

The subject is so important that there should be a *separate Professorship of Indian Economics*. It should be held by a man who has given special attention to economic problems, and who would consider it his duty to watch their development in India.

The following are some of the points which should be noticed:

The Land Question, Revenue Settlements, Indian Commerce, Incidences of Taxation and its Expenditure, The Unearned Increment, Balance of Trade, History of Prices, &c.

Indian Economics should be made a compulsory subject for the B.A. degree.

The Universities Commission Report directs attention to Agriculture and Commerce, pp. 39, 40.

Example of the United States.—The United States, like India, is largely agricultural, but great and successful efforts have been made in it during the last few years to develop manufactures. A writer in the *North American Review* points out the educational change which is taking place in that country. Only a scanty band study Economics at Cambridge and at Oxford the subject is practically dead. At Harvard, on the contrary, Economics is taken up by hundreds of students.*

Indian Universities must come into line with the wants of the country. She requires more than B. A.s and lawyers.

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5. THE PRESENT UNDUE CRAVING FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICE AND THE BAR SHOULD BE DISCOURAGED.

A "stool in a Government Office" or a lawyer's gown, are at present the great objects of ambition among Indian students.

It was at first a necessity for Government to establish Colleges to provide educated officers. As the students were comparatively few, most of them, on the completion of their course, obtained good appointments. Now, however, the case is different.

Some time ago, at the distribution of prizes at the Presidency College, Madras, the late Mr. Justice Muthusami Aiyer, who presided, said:

"When I left the college 32 years ago, there were about 75 highly educated men, whose attainments may be said to be co-extensive with

* A recent telegram shows that Cambridge is moving in the same direction.

those of our graduates. At present there are upwards of 1500 B. A.s, besides 17,000 undergraduates and matriculates."

Petty shopkeepers, mechanics, peons, and domestic servants, are now making great efforts to get an English Education for some of their children in the hope that they will obtain Government appointments. The supply already far exceeds the demand. The country is being filled with imperfectly educated young men, who yet think it beneath their dignity to engage in industrial employments. Unless a change take place, men of this class will become an intolerable burden upon their relatives, while they lead miserable lives themselves. Years ago the late Hon. J. B. Norton, of Madras, said:

"This reliance upon Government, and seeking after its employ, to the exclusion of all other legitimate and honourable means of obtaining a livelihood, has to the present moment been the principal bane and curse of Native society."

The English Schools and Colleges furnish an army of candidates more than four hundred thousand strong, and daily receiving accessions to its ranks.

The craving extends, more or less, even to vernacular schools. Mr. Nesfield, Inspector of Schools, Oudh, says that he was once present at a "large gathering of pupils from primary schools. The Deputy Commissioner asked them why they came to school at all. Fifty voices answered at once, *to get employment*. He then asked, What employment? and the answer immediately was, *Government*. The desire to obtain employment, and thus escape from the paternal plough or workshop, is almost universal among our vernacular students," &c.

Lord Curzon, addressing Trevandrum students, said:

"Don't follow each other like a flock of sheep, which always go through the same opening in a hedge. The hedge of public duty is capable of being pierced in a great many places, and the man who wants to get to the other side will waste a lot of precious time if he waits for his turn in the crowd that is trying to scramble through a single aperture."

"Take therefore a line to yourselves; get out of the rut. Your whole life is not summed up in office or in law courts."

Similar advice was given by the late Maharaja of Travancore. Referring to ten thousand boys in the schools of that State, he said:

"Almost without exception, all these, I suspect, look to Government employment.

"If our Government must provide for all the youths that receive education, our public offices will have to be extended miles, and public salaries to be increased by thousands of rupees, and after all to

entertain a host of discontented, disobedient, and sometimes troublesome young men. The sooner the idea that Government employment is the *Ultima Thule* of education is scooped out of the heads of our youths, the better."

Even in the Punjab, where English education is comparatively new, a warning is given :

"The large increase in the ranks of the educated unemployed—is a problem which has caused and is still causing great anxiety to all sincerely interested in the good of the country."

Spain is one of the least prosperous countries of Europe. One of the reasons is the following :

"The same complaint is raised as in India, that educated men overcrowd the professions and Government service rather than devote themselves to industries and commerce, whereby the best possible use might be made of the country's great natural resources."

The same remark applies to Greece :

"This general instruction is out of all relation to the real needs of the country, and excites in young men an ambition impossible to gratify. The majority of young men conceive it a disgrace to follow their fathers' professions—generally manual, and therefore regarded as degrading."

In 1877, Sir Richard Temple, in his last Report as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said :

"It is melancholy to see men who once appeared to receive their honours in the University Convocation, now applying for some lowly-paid appointment, almost begging from office to office, from department to department, or struggling for the practice of a petty practitioner, and after all this returning, baffled and disheartened, to a poverty-stricken home, and then to reflect how far happier their lot might have been had they while at school or college been able to move in a healthier atmosphere of thought and freer walk of life. Nevertheless, with these examples before their eyes, hundreds, perhaps thousands of young men, persist in embarking on the same course which can only lead to the same ending. And one reason, among several reasons, is this, that they still dread and dislike the thought of manual labour, even though it be accompanied with mental training. This unhappy prejudice though not perhaps avowed nor even admitted, is palpably existent and banefully influential."

Eighteen Colleges with Law Classes in Bengal turned out 350 B. L.s, at the last examination. The profession is already over-crowded, and such large additions to its ranks make things worse and worse. Some years ago *The Hindu Patriot*, noticing the charge of *litigiousness* brought against Hindus, replied that it could not be otherwise, considering the many influences calculated to foster it with which the people were surrounded.

Educated men in India, who should be "Captains of Industry," are candidates for Government office or swelling the ranks of briefless lawyers. Among such there must be "ever-increasing poverty."

The Chief Remedy.—This was pointed out by Lord George Hamilton in his Budget Speech of 1897:

"Is it impossible to so alter the current and tendency of the education we give as to associate it with objects of a practical and technical character, by which India's latent resources might be developed, her industries multiplied, and her productive power extended?"

Happily the evils of the present system are beginning to be realised, and the development of manufactures is attracting more and more attention.

6. INDIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE.

The popular demand from the English Government is that none of the many millions of India shall be underfed, although they are living in defiance of Economic laws.

It is true that the Congress, in its corporate capacity, is unable to deal with this question, but individually the members may do much to diffuse sound information on the subject. Attentive consideration is invited to the following remarks.

Prices and Wages are determined by the Inexorable law of Supply and Demand.

The complaint is often made that wages have not risen proportionately with prices. The inference is that the country is becoming poorer and poorer, and as the mismanagement of Government is regarded as the cause, it must provide the remedy.

Persons taking the above view are invited to explain why the average wages of able-bodied agricultural labourers differ so much in India under the same Government. The 19*th Issue of Prices and Wages in India* gives the following startling contrasts:

Patna, Rs. 3·8 to 5; Rangpur, 7·7; Backergunj, 10 to 15; Cawnpur, 3·55 and 4·75; Fyzabad, 1·87 to 3·9; Meerut, 4·43; Delhi, 6·85; Amritsar, 8; Rawalpindi, 6·82; Karachi, 11 to 16·4; Belgaum, 6·09; Ahmednagar, 5·12 to 5·52; Bombay, 11; Ahmedabad, 6·42; Jubbulpore, 3·4; Nagpur, 4·8; Raipur, 4; Bellary, 4·57; Salem, 3·35; Rangoon, 14·4; Toungoo, 18·4.

How is it that an agricultural labourer receives in Jubbulpore Rs. 3-4-0; in Amritsar Rs. 8; and in Toungoo, Rs. 18-4-0.?

Wages are determined by the same law as the price of grain. When the demand exceeds the supply, prices rise; when the reverse, prices fall.

It is satisfactory that sounder views on the subject are beginning to spread. *United India* has the following remarks:

"*Why have wages not risen in India?* Wages do not rise from the simple reason that the numbers of the labouring classes increase every year in relative greater rapidity than those of the other classes of the population. Competition among the labourers accordingly increases." *May 5th, 1903.*

THE EVILS OF EARLY MARRIAGE.

Early marriage did not exist in Vedic times. It is a Brahmanical invention of a later period. According to Manu's Code:

"Since a son delivers (trá yati) the father from the hell called *put*, the son was therefore called *putra* by the Self-existent himself." x. 138.

The object was to increase the population, but it was a pernicious error, encouraging the idea that a man's future welfare depends more upon offerings made after his decease than upon his conduct. In a material point of view, its effects are also disastrous. Marriage is encouraged irrespective of the means of subsistence.

At the last Bengal Census there were **3901 wives* and 538 widows under one year of age**! Can such folly be matched in any other part of the world? It is true that the marriages were only betrothals; but, according to the cruel Hindu law, a girl betrothed, if her intended husband dies, is a widow for life, doomed to endure all the miseries, thus entailed upon her.

The following are some of the evils of early marriage:

1. **Early Marriages lead to weak and sickly children.**— Dr. Pechey-Phipson says:

"Thousands of still-born children, hecatombs (sacrifices of a hundred victims) of dead infants, an ever-increasing number of sickly, disfigured, and deformed people bear witness to the results of this pernicious custom. Ah, gentlemen, you are very tender about the life of the beast: it is only your wives and your children you sacrifice, bringing them to a painful death, or, what is worse, a lingering life of misery—a life without hope, without any of the pleasures which make life worth living, in the case of the wives without those mental resources which can make the mind rise superior to the ills of the body.

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* Of the wives 3204 were Hindus and 146 Moslems; of the widows 433 were Hindus and 860 Moslems. The writer is indebted to the Rev. Dr. K. S. Macdonald for these details.

"And *the evil increases as time goes on* in each of such families. As I said before, where a woman marries at twenty-five, her offspring increases in strength and vigour until she attains the age of forty. But, on the other hand, if maternity begins before maturity, the reverse takes place. With every fresh effort at childbirth the mother gets weaker, the child more sickly. The demands of maternity have been made while the claims of the maternal system for its own growth are still unsatisfied; the mother grows at the expense of the child, the child at the expense of the mother, both are ill-nourished and stunted."

2. **Early Marriage leads to National Degeneracy.**—Dr. Pechey-Phipson, addressing Hindus, says: "For centuries you have been children of children and there is no surer way of becoming servants of servants." Mrs. Dr. Mansell says:—

"Because of this marriage system, the gifted races of India have degenerated, and become subjugated by foreign powers, and governed by the physically stronger and more energetic races, and India holds a subordinate place among the nations. This condition of affairs will continue so long as the mothers of the nation remain the victims of such a vicious marriage system, and are kept in a state of bondage, ignorance, and superstition. As long as mothers remain too feeble and too immature to impart strength and vitality to their offspring—so long will the Indian races lack strength, and courage, and hardihood—and the nation will remain weak and dependent."

Dr. Pechey-Phipson, addressing Hindus, says of early marriage:

"It is a retrogression from the early civilization of your race; it is a stigma on your religion; a blot on your humanity, which, were it known, would disgrace you in the eyes of the whole civilised world. Stamp it out at whatever cost from vulgar prejudice; blot out this stain upon your character as men of honour and manly virtue."

It is so far satisfactory that some of the Census Reports show that right views on the subject are beginning to spread.*

Causes of Indian Poverty.

The Saturday Review has the following remarks on this subject:

"The poverty of that country, (India) is due to a perverse religious law which makes it essential to the salvation of every Hindu to possess a son who shall perform after his death the propitiatory rites which secure his future happiness. From this central idea has sprung a withering group of anti-social regulations—the compulsory marriage of

* There are other evils connected with Early Marriage. See Pice Paper, *Early Marriage; its Evils and Suggested Reforms.* Sold by Mr. A. T. Scott, Tract Depôt, Madras.

every male; the compulsory marriage of every female immediately on her reaching the age of puberty; the degradation of women; the ostracism of the widow. From these, in turn, have ensued the infinite division of the soil and the physical deterioration of the race. These ideas and facts enlightened Government, which has blandly possessed itself of the ordinary respectable doctrine of the evils of early marriage and the regulation of the number of children to the means for their support, is altogether unable to combat, for the reason that an astute hierarchy—the Brahmins—have fixed them as a yoke on the neck of the Indian people by the most formidable religious sanctions. The Government can take no step, however enlightened, to dissuade the people from early, and indeed immature, marriage without coming violently into contact with Hindu law, which has its roots in Hindu theology."

The Evil intensified by the humane policy of the British Government:

"The evil thus caused is intensified by every beneficent action of the authorities. The new wine is poured into the old bottles, with the inevitable result. With a wave of her sceptre the Empress of India commands peace, yet war, with its ravages and destruction, was the first and the most potent means of reducing the redundant and superfluous population. No doubt, in its immediate train, it brought local famine, from the destruction of the agriculturist and the cessation of agriculture, but, in its nature, it was an anti-famine operation. The Government have further prohibited female infanticide as a crime; yet, however opposed to our ethical ideas, there is no doubt that female infanticide was a natural and powerful safety-valve against what the people most feared, which was famine caused by the too rapid encroachment of the population on the food supply. In the same manner, the enlightened efforts of the Government to improve the health and longevity of the people; the hospitals and dispensaries scattered broadcast over the country; the introduction of quinine as an undoubted remedy for the principal cause of mortality in the East; the general maintenance of order and respect for human life—all these and many contributing causes have augmented the population at an ever-increasing rate. Lastly comes the specific of civilisation against famine: the construction of a vast system of canals and waterways, irrigation tanks and wells, which turn the brown and dusty plain into a sheet of living green. But the extent of irrigable land is limited, while the laws of nature move on inexorably. The new abundance has only caused a square mile which sustained ten people to support six hundred. The very blessing of canal irrigation is a curse in disguise. The people, unrestrained by any prudential checks, and urged to reproduction by every religious sanction, soon reach and overflow the margin where comfort becomes want."

France and India contrasted:

"Two countries, the most dissimilar in their social methods, are France and India. In the former we see a people who have so intelligently perceived that national happiness is impossible with an anxious,

overcrowded population, that they have deliberately and of national choice accepted Malthusian doctrines, and kept their population at a point consistent with family and individual happiness. In India the condition is precisely the reverse, and the Government seems powerless to interfere.

"What is the solution of the problem? We cannot say; but we know that it will tax the highest statesmanship."

Two high authorities confirming the foregoing may be quoted. Sir William Hunter says:

"*The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India. The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil. Now that the sword is no longer permitted to do its old work, they must submit to prudential restraints on marriage or they must suffer hunger. Such restraints have been imperative upon races of small cultivators since the days when Plato wrote his Republic.*" *

SIR ANTONY MACDONNEL, late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, at a meeting of the Society of Arts, remarked:

"We had doubtless made mistakes, but never had they been intentional; they had arisen from the mistaken application to India of economic theories and legal conclusions which were stamped with the approval of Western experience. The results had been, in many cases, contrary to our expectations, and even now we failed to realise that although the Indian ryot is personally thrifty he is socially most extravagant. It was due to those social customs that our best efforts to ameliorate his condition met with such a large measure of disappointment. The true Indian difficulty was not one of taxation—he regarded that difficulty as insignificant—it was not even one of precarious rainfall or of bad laws. It arose from the cumulative effect of religion, custom and native law, which placed a premium on the growth of population, made extravagant expenditure a religious duty and the indefinite distribution of property a legal obligation. Before regeneration came to India this social problem must in some way be solved, and the solution must come from the people themselves. But Government could help it forward by an energetic educational policy, by the encouragement of all measures making for thrift, and by the promotion of agricultural efficiency and industrial enterprise in all its branches. The result would be to raise the standard of comfort, which would be a great lever in the disruption of these hostile influences. If the efforts of Indian reformers were assisted in this way by the Government, he predicted for India a bright and prosperous future."

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* *England's Work in India*, pp. 128, 129.

The Advocate, Lucknow, after quoting the above, says:

"We admit that some of our social customs are to a great extent at fault. Even these distresses do not open people's eyes and induce them to set their house in order. Who but a people bent on committing suicide will not reform such customs and habits that are unsuited to the changed circumstances of the times. To marry, to breed, and to die in misery is the be-all and end-all of the life of millions of our people."*

A change in some of the Hindu marriage laws is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country. Customs suitable when India was covered with forests like the Dandaka, may be the reverse when she has congested districts with 800 to the square mile. The Baroda Child-Marriage Preventing Bill is a hopeful sign that this is beginning to be seen by intelligent men.

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7. SELF-HELP.

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

Sir W. W. Hunter.

"There may exist circumstances in the habits of a people sufficiently powerful to defeat the most benevolent views of its rulers."

W. Carey.

Smiles says: "In all times men have been prone to believe that their happiness and well-being were to be secured by means of institutions rather than by their own conduct." It is a delusion like that of a past Golden Age.

> "How small, of all that human hearts endure,
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!
> Still to ourselves in every place consigned,
> Our own felicity we make or find."

The folly of expecting beneficent changes in society, except as the result of wide preparatory changes in individual character, is well expressed in these words of Herbert Spencer:—

"Just as the perpetual-motion schemer hopes, by a cunning arrangement of parts, to get from one end of his machine more energy than he puts in at the other, so the ordinary political schemer is convinced that out of a legislative apparatus, properly devised and worked with due dexterity, may be had beneficial state-action, without any detrimental re-action He expects to get out of a stupid people the effects of intelligence, and to evolve from inferior citizens superior conduct."

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* Quoted in *The Indian Social Reformer*, April 13th, 1902.

Mr. A. O. Hume says in a letter to Mr. B. M. Malabari :—

"Nations in the long run always get precisely as good a Government as they deserve, and no nominal political enfranchisement will in practice prove more than a change of evils unless such an advance has simultaneously or antecedently been made along all those other lines as shall render the country qualified to assimilate its improved political status."

Happily the Industrial Exhibitions and other signs indicate that India is awakening to the necessity of **Self-Help.**

OTHER NEEDS OF INDIA.

Although only the foregoing points are brought before the Congress, there are several other important reforms necessary, which can only be briefly indicated.

1. **Female Education.**—Mr. A. O. Hume justly said in a letter to Mr. B. M. Malabari:

"*Political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element of the nation proceeds* pari pasu, *(with an equal pace) with their work, all their labour for the political enfranchisement of the country will prove vain.*"

India at present is like a **bird trying to fly with one wing.**

2. **Foresight instead of Running into Debt.**—Johnson's advice should be followed, "Whatever you have, spend less." There should be a reserve fund in the Savings Bank for extra expenditure, so that the ruinous expedient of recourse to the money-lender may not be necessary.

3. **Reduction of Expenditure in Marriages, &c.**—Sir M. E. Grant Duff said in a Madras Convocation Address:

"He who could persuade his countrymen to give up their, to us, astounding expenditure on marriages, would do more for South India than any government could do in a decade."

4. **Using capital instead of converting it into Jewels.**—Seven crores a year in interest might thus be saved.

5. **Reform of misdirected Charity.**—Taking advantage of the charitable disposition of the Hindus, there are about 52 lakhs of men who have chosen to subsist by begging from door to door. This is done as a hereditary profession, and not as a necessity forced upon them by misfortune. If able-bodied beggars were made to work for their living, the country would be so much richer and happier.

6. **The Disuse of spirits, opium and bang.**—Strong drink is

the great curse of England, the chief cause of its misery and crime. Vigorous efforts should be made to prevent India from suffering in like manner.

7. **The Moral Elevation of the People.**—Every thing would follow in its train. "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." The burning words of Kingsley should be stamped upon the memory:—

"Foremost among them stands a law which I must insist on, boldly and perpetually, a law which man has been trying in all ages, as now, to deny, or at least to ignore; though he might have seen it if he had willed, working steadily in all times and nations. And that is —that as the fruit of righteousness is wealth and peace, strength and honour; the fruit of unrighteousness is poverty and anarchy, weakness and shame. It is an ancient doctrine and yet one ever young. The Hebrew prophets preached it long ago, in words which are fulfilling themselves around us every day, and which no new discoveries of science will abrogate, because they express the great root-law, which disobeyed, science itself cannot get a hearing."*

ENCOURAGEMENTS.

Disappointment has been felt by some that reforms recommended by Congress have not been immediately carried out. Where hundreds of millions of human beings with conflicting interests, are concerned, great caution is necessary. Even in England, with one-seventh of the population of India, there is no hasty legislation. Tennyson thus describes it:—

"A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent:

Where faction seldom gathers head,
But by degrees to fulness wrought,
The strength of some diffusive thought,
Hath time and space to work and spread."

John Bright sent out the following message to the people of India through Mr. Manomohan Ghose:—

"Tell your people on your return home that they must not expect immediate results, nor must they lose heart if they do not get what they want. The English people themselves have not obtained any concession from their own Government without long and persistent agitation. It took Cobden and myself 30 years to get the Corn Laws

* Limits of Extract Science applied to History.

repealed. Tell your people, as coming from me, that they do not deserve to succeed if they expect immediate results."*

The Madras Reception Committee for the coming Congress thus show that the past is full of encouragement:

"It would certainly be wrong to assume that the labours of the Congress have been in vain. The Legislative Councils have been enlarged. We have secured the right of interpellation and the Government has been induced to recognize the principle of popular election. The question of simultaneous examinations has passed from the domain of speculation into the domain of practical politics. The age of candidates for the Civil Service has at our entreaty been raised from 19 to 23. The Government has admitted the justice of our demand for the separation of the judicial from the revenue functions and has in our own Presidency given some practical proof of that admission; and we may add that we are within measurable distance of a solution of this great problem. Some little reform has been attempted in the constitution of the police, while much is expected to be done after the report of the Commission. The reduction of the salt-tax and of the taxable minimum for purposes of Income-tax may appropriately be claimed as in some measure due to the labours of the Congress. If the Congress had achieved nothing else it has at least produced a unifaction of opinion among all educated Indians on the essential problems of administration in this country. But we must not be blind to the fact that the educated citizens of the Empire bear but a small proportion to the total population; and until we can demonstrate to our rulers that the views of the Congress are not merely the views of the 'advanced liberal party' in India but also of the general bulk of the population, we have no right to complain of the indifference of our rulers."

There never was a more favourable time for vigorous action. The talents, energy and powerful home influence of Lord Curzon should be utilised to the utmost.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

A few parting words of advice may be quoted from men whom the Congress must respect.

How Reforms are to be sought.—The Hon. Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, Chairman of the Third Congress, gave two wise counsels to Indian delegates to England. They are quoted below, with the commentary of the *Dnyanodaya*, a Bombay journal, edited by an American Missionary:

"Moderation is better than exaggeration."

"To have power a reformer should manifest a love of truth by exactness and accuracy in his statements and representations. Exaggerations have never been helpful in reform; they have retarded, but have never advanced a cause. Exaggerations give

* Quoted in *The Indian People*. May 8th, 1903.

room for an enemy to oppose with effect. Exact, unexaggerated truth is the best weapon for reform, for the very reason that it is nothing but the truth.

"Obtain exact statistics and information. Keep that information before the people. Prevent stagnation of thought, welcome every sign of progress however small."

"Persuasion is better than Declamation or Abuse."

"Criticism of Government methods is the right and prerogative of the subject, but criticism has greater weight when accompanied with appreciation of the underlying motive of Government, and does not confound, accidental irregularities and mistakes with the true purpose of the ruling Power...The surest and quickest way for India to obtain redress of wrongs and greater privileges is to appreciate in English rule what is worthy of appreciation and criticise from the position of a friend and not from the position of an enemy."

It is satisfactory that the above recommendations are not now largely carried out by the Congress.

"Love and Service," the suggested motto for the coming Congress.—Mr. A. M. Bose, President of the last Madras Congress said :—

"They were on the eve of having a new year. It was usual in many communities to select a motto for the new year. He wished that all who were present here and within reach of his humble voice, would select a motto for themselves which would embody the principle of their life, and thus act in the year that was opening before them.

"Might he take the liberty of suggesting one motto, **Love and Service.** He said that they had cheered the name of India, the great motherland ; now, it would not be mere simple cheering. Let the love of country be implanted in the deepest depths of their hearts. This would enable them to achieve the work that had to be done."

The coming Madras Congress could not have a better motto.

THE CLAIMS OF INDIA ON EDUCATED INDIANS.

Our native land, wherever it may be, should have a strong hold upon our affections. Scott says :—

> "Breathes there a man with soul so dead
> Who never to himself hath said,
> 'This is my own, my native land !'
> Whose heart hath ne'r within him burn'd,
> As home his footsteps he hath turn'd
> From wandering on a foreign strand !"

This affection is felt even by the Greenlander for his land of barren rocks and snows. Much more should it glow within the breast of an Indian. Look at the many claims of his country

to his admiration and love! In extent she reaches from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, from Eastern to Western Asia. Her scenery is varied and beautiful, including fertile plains, forest-clad hills, and mountains the loftiest in the world. She is rich in every product required for the use of man, in minerals, in food grains and fruits, in materials for clothing, in dyes, and spices. Her vast population embraces nations speaking upwards of a hundred languages and dialects. In her every fifth child sees the light; from her every fifth departing spirit wings its flight. She is an ancient land, whose interesting history can be traced back for more than three thousand years. In her annals are inserted the names of poets, legislators, warriors, scientists, philosophers, deserving to be had in grateful remembrance.

Well, then, may the Indian take the deepest interest in the welfare of his country. The aim, however, should be not to indulge in speculation about her ancient glories; but to promote active efforts for her benefit.

The sad condition of the majority of the people greatly strengthens their claims on the sympathy of the educated. The darkness of ignorance broods over the masses. The ryots, as a rule, are enveloped in the grasp of the money-lenders; many millions earn only a precarious subsistence, and are always on the verge of starvation.

It is encouraging that never before were so many interested in the welfare of India. Max Müller says, "The Indian never knew the feeling of nationality." He loved his children, he was zealous for the section of caste to which he belonged, but he **did not think of his country as a whole.** Larger views are now spreading, leading to the establishment of a National Congress and a desire for a "United India."

A Low Aim in Life.—This, unfortunately, is general all the world over. The following remarks, originally addressed by J. S. Mill to University students in Scotland, are equally applicable to India:

"One of the commonest types of character among us is that of a man all whose ambition is self-regarding; who has no higher purpose in life than to enrich or raise in the world himself and his family; who never dreams of making the good of his fellow-creatures or of his country an habitual object."

"It is worth training them to feel, not only actual wrong or actual meanness, but the absence of noble aims and endeavours, as not merely blamable, but also degrading;—the poorness and insignificance of human life if it is to be all spent in making things comfortable for ourselves and our kin, and raising ourselves and them a step or two on the social ladder."

In India such men float like dead fish along the stream, led by the masses instead of being their leaders.

Scott has the following scathing remarks on the selfish man who cares nothing for his country :

" High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonour'd, and unsung."

A Noble Aim in Life.—The following remarks of J. S. Mill should be pondered by educated Indians :

" Fix your eyes upon the ultimate end from which those studies take their chief value—that of making you more effective combatants in the great fight which never ceases to rage between Good and Evil, and more equal to coping with the ever new problems which the changing course of human nature and human society present to be resolved."

" There is not one of us who may not so qualify himself so to improve the average amount of opportunities, as to leave his fellow-creatures some little the better for the use he has known how to make of his intellect."

" You are to be a part of the public who are to welcome, encourage and help forward the future intellectual benefactors of humanity ; and you are, if possible, to furnish your contingent to the number of those benefactors. Nor let any one be discouraged by what may seem, in moments of despondency, the lack of time and opportunity. Those who know how to employ opportunities will often find that they can create them, and what we achieve depends less on the amount of time we possess, than on the use we make of our time. You and your like are the hope and resource of your country in the coming generation".

The Indian Messenger thus shows the need of a high aim in India :

" For India of the present day the great thing necessary is greatness of aim. The nation must be taught to conceive nobly and hope largely ; individuals must be inspired with noble aspirations and great enthusiasm. There are yet great things to be done. To dispel the dense darkness of ignorance that has thickened through generations after generations, to eradicate the superstitions of many centuries, to teach people to hope and dare great things, to relieve the almost endless miseries of this country, are not these objects worthy of the most heroic souls ? And in the face of such crying needs should the nation pine away for want of manly enterprises and worthy occupations ? If ever there were needed heroes for a country they are needed now and for India. If ever there was a truly noble work for any people it is now before the children of this land. Oh, that some one could open our eyes, to see the vast field that is lying before ; oh there were some one with a boundless enthusiasm and with the heaven-born prophet's inspiration

to lead us out of our littleness and to teach us to conceive nobly, to aspire highly, to love greatly and to dare manly. Our great need is the need of great aims."—*March 8th, 1903.*

George Eliot thus writes of those who inspire others by their example :—

"Oh, may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence; live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night, like stars.
And with their mild persistence urge men's search
To vaster issues."

Dr. Miller, in a Convocation Address, thus pointed out the duties of graduates :

"Not for itself but for every thing that drinks in life and beauty from its beams, does the light return each morning on the earth. Not to rejoice in their own array do the lily and the rose deck themselves with splendour. Not to be an end unto themselves do the fruits of the valley spring. Not for its own sake does the patient ox labour in the furrow. Service and subordination are the life of the universe; isolation and selfishness its death.

"It cannot be all in vain, the acquaintance that you have made with

'The sons of ancient fame,
Those starry lights of virtue that diffuse
Through the dark depths of time their vivid flame.'

"In the light that streams from them you perceive it to be the lofty thing it is to labour and to wait for great and unselfish aims. Thus we would have you live—according to the pure and holy instinct that those bright examples have from time to time called forth within you. Thus we would have you live; for whether your influence be great or small, and even if little success attend your most devoted efforts, you will thus in inmost spirit 'Claim kindred with the great of old."

With a lofty aim in life, let the reader join the noble band who are seeking the welfare of their country. And let there be no delay.

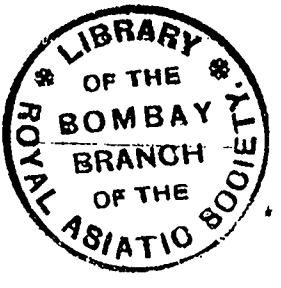
Arise! for the day is passing,
And you lie dreaming on;
The others have buckled their armour,
And forth to the fight are gone:
A place in the ranks awaits you,
Each man has some part to play;
The Past and the Future are nothing
In the face of the stern To-day;

Arise from the dreams of the Future—
Of gaining some hard-fought field;
Of storming some airy fortress,
Or bidding some giant yield;
Your future has deeds of glory,
Of honour (God grant it may!)
But your arm will never be stronger,
Or the need so great as To-day.

Arise! if the Past detain you,
Her sunshines and storms forget;
No chains so unworthy to hold you,
As those of a vain regret;
Sad or bright, she is lifeless ever;
Cast her phantom arms away,
Nor look back, save to learn the lesson
Of a nobler strife To-day.

Arise! for the day is passing!
The sound that you scarcely hear,
Is the enemy marching to battle!
Rise! Rise! for the foe is near!
Stay not to sharpen your weapons,
Or the hour will strike at last,
When, from dreams of coming battle,
You may wake to find it past.

A. A. Procter.



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